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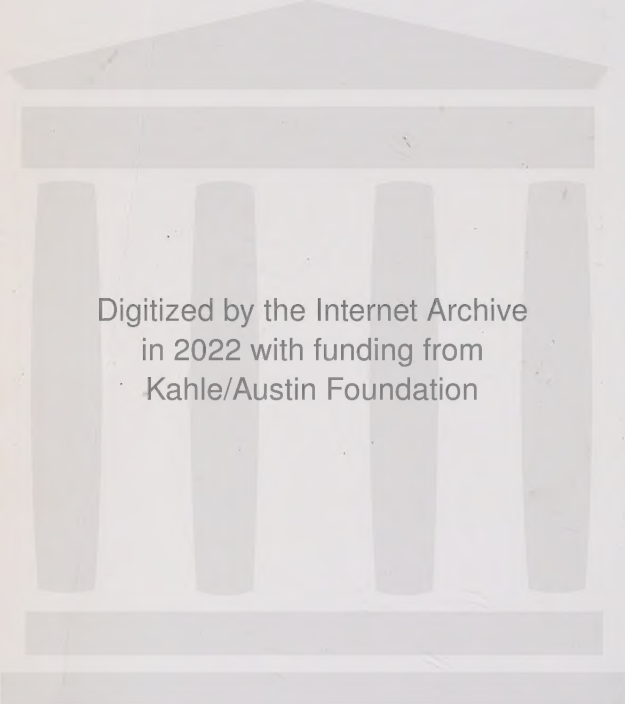
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Queene Elizabethes Achademy,
A Booke of Precedence, &c.,

with Essays on

Italian and German Books of Courtesy.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. VIII.

1869

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Queene Elizabethes Achademy

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT)

2380

A Booke of Precedence

The Ordering of a Funerall, &c.

Varying Versions of

The Good Wife, The Wise Man, &c.

Maxims, Tydgate's Order of Fools,

A Poem on Heraldry, Orlebe on Lords' Men, &c.

Edited by

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., TRIN. HALL, CAMB.

With Essays on

Early Italian and German Books of
Courtesy

by

W. M. ROSSETTI, ESQ., & E. OSWALD, ESQ.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

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CONTENTS.

PART I.

	PAGE
FOREWORDS	i
I. QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACHADEMY, BY SIR H. GILBERT ...	1
II. A BOOK OF PRECEDENCE	13
III. THE ORDERING OF A FUNERALL FOR A NOBLE PERSON IN HENRY VII.'S TIME	29
IV. A FUNERAL IN POPISH TIMES	32
V. THE DEFINITION OF AN ESQUIRE, AND THE SEVERALL SORTES OF THEM ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOME AND VSAGE OF ENGLAND	38
VI. THE GOOD WYFE WOLD A PYLGREIMAGE	39
VII. HOW þE GOODE WYFE TAUȝT HYR DOUȝTER	44
VIII. HOW A WYSE MAN TAUGHT HYS SONE	52
IX. STANS PUER AD MENSAM	56
X. THE ABCE OF ARISTOTILL	65
XI. ARISTOTLE'S ABC	66
XII. PROVERBS OF GOOD COUNSEL	68
XIII. HOW TO RULE ONE'S SELF AND ONE'S HOUSE	71
XIV. GOOD ADVICE TO A GOVERNOUR	72
XV. WARNINGS AND COUNSELS FOR NOBLEMEN	74
XVI. THE SAGE FOOL'S TESTAMENT	77
XVII. LYDGATE'S ORDER OF FOOLS	79

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
XVIII. A PROPHECY. WHAT CAN MAN POSSESS? ILLS OF OUR TIME	85
XIX. QWAT SAL I DO?	86
XX. ILLS OF OUR TIME (A BETTER COPY)	88
XXI. THE ORDER OF THE GUESTS AT THE CORONATION BANQUET OF CATHERINE OF VALOIS	89
XXII. COURSES OF A DINNER AND SUPPER GIVEN TO HENRY V. BY SIR IOHN CORNEWELLE	90
XXIII. COURSES OF A MEAL OR BANQUET	92
XXIV. A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY	93
NOTES ON THE HERALDRY POEM	102
XXV. OCCLEVE: OF PRIDD AND OF WASTE CLOTHYNG OF LORDES MEN	105
XXVI. SIR PETER IDLE'S DIRECTIONS TO HIS SON (<i>an extract</i>) ...	109
NOTES TO QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACHADEMY	111
GLOSSARIAL INDEX	112
INDEX OF NAMES, PERSONS, AND PLACES	122
GENERAL INDEX	126

PART II.

1. MR W. M. ROSSETTI'S ESSAY ON EARLY ITALIAN COURTESY BOOKS	1
2. MR E. OSWALD'S ESSAY ON THOMASIN VON ZIRCLARIA, AND SOME OTHER GERMAN WORKS ON COURTESY	77
3. NOTE ON 'LE MENAGIER DE PARIS,' 1393-4 A.D. BY F. J. FURNIVALL	149

FOREWORDS.

THIS volume is meant as a kind of small brother to our fat Babees Book of 1868. It has been produced mainly to let the reader see the very interesting account in Part II. of early Italian Courtesy books by Mr W. M. Rossetti, and the more elaborate essay on the earliest German one (by an Italian) by Mr E. Oswald. To these I have added a very short, bare sketch of the curious early French treatise on the spiritual, social, and household duties of a wife, about 1393 A.D., *Le Ménagier de Paris*, a book to be read by all readers of 'The Knight de la Tour Landry.'¹ Part II. I look on as the body of this second Babee; Part I. as its frock or coat. Still, I hope that the stuff and trimmings of the boy's garment will be found worthy of examination, as well as his eyes and legs.

The first tract in Part I., *Queene Elizabethes Academy*,² is printed, I. because it is another scheme drawn up for the same end as Sir Nicholas Bacon's for the bringing up of the Queen's wards, mentioned on pages xxii, xxiii of the Forewords to the *Babees Book*, on the authority of Mr Payne Collier, and displays more fully than my cutting-down of Mr Collier's sketch, 'the course of study of well-bred youths

¹ I hoped to have added an account from the pen of Mr F. W. Cosens, of an Early Spanish MS, in the Madrid Library, of a Mother's Instructions to her Daughter; but it will take too much time to get the MS copied, &c. Perhaps enough material for another volume on Manners and Courtesy will turn up by the time the Spanish poem is ready.

² I ask readers to correct ('of) *will*, (religion'), l. 7 of text, to '*evil*,' and cut out the comma after it.

in the early years of Elizabeth's reign'; 2. because it is an admirable scheme of Educational Reform; and 3. because the Reformer is Sir Humphrey Gilbert,¹ one of the ablest and gallantest men of the Elizabethan age. Some of my readers may know the account of him in Hakluyt; and others, that in Mr Froude's noble article in the *Westminster* on "England's Forgotten Worthies." At any rate, here is the latter, to give pleasure to all who read it:

Some two miles above the port of Dartmouth, once among the most important harbours in England, on a projecting angle of land which runs out into the river at the head of one of its most beautiful reaches, there has stood for some centuries the Manor House of Greenaway. The water runs deep all the way to it from the sea, and the largest vessels may ride with safety within a stone's throw of the windows. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there must have met, in the hall of this mansion, a party as remarkable as could have been found anywhere in England. Humfrey and Adrian Gilbert, with their half-brother, Walter Raleigh, here, when little boys, played at sailors in the reaches of Long Stream; in the summer evenings doubtless rowing down with the tide to the port, and wondering at the quaint figure-heads and carved prows of the ships which thronged it; or climbing on board, and listening, with hearts beating, to the mariners' tales of the new earth beyond the sunset. And here in later life matured men, whose boyish dreams had become heroic action, they used again to meet in the intervals of quiet, and the rock is shown underneath the house where Raleigh smoked the first tobacco. Another remarkable man, of whom we shall presently speak more closely, could not fail to have made a fourth at these meetings. A sailor boy of Sandwich, the adjoining parish, John Davis, showed early a genius which could not have escaped the eye of such neighbours, and in the atmosphere of Greenaway he learned to be as noble as the Gilberts, and as tender and delicate as Raleigh. Of this party, for the present we confine ourselves to the host and owner, Humfrey Gilbert, knighted afterwards by Elizabeth. Led by the scenes of his childhood to the sea and to sea adventures, and afterwards, as his mind unfolded, to study his profession scientifically, we find him, as soon as he was old enough to think for himself or make others listen to him, 'amending the great errors of naval sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degree of longitude in every latitude of one common bigness;' inventing instruments for taking observations, studying the form of the earth, and convincing himself that there was a north-west passage, and studying the necessities of his country, and

¹ It has Lord Burghley's endorsement on it [S^r Humf. Gilbert for an Academy of y^e wardes], but is without date. It was probably laid before the Queen about the year 1570. (Sir H. Ellis in *Archæologia*, XXI, p. 506.)

discovering the remedies for them in colonisation and extended markets for home manufactures. Gilbert was examined before the Queen's Majesty and the Privy Council, and the record of his examination he has himself left to us in a paper which he afterwards drew up, and strange enough reading it is. The most admirable conclusions stand side by side with the wildest conjectures.

Homer and Aristotle are pressed into service to prove that the ocean runs round the three old continents, and that America therefore is necessarily an island. The Gulf Stream, which he had carefully observed, eked out by a theory of the *primum mobile*, is made to demonstrate a channel to the north, corresponding to Magellan's Straits in the south, Gilbert believing, in common with almost every one of his day, that these straits were the only opening into the Pacific, and the land to the South was unbroken to the Pole. He prophesies a market in the East for our manufactured linen and calicoes :—

"The Easterns greatly prizing the same, as appeareth in Hester, where the pomp is expressed of the great King of India, Ahasuerus, who matched the coloured clothes wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure."

These, and other such arguments, were the best analysis which Sir Humphrey had to offer of the spirit which he felt to be working in him. We may think what we please of them ; but we can have but one thought of the great grand words with which the memorial concludes, and they alone would explain the love which Elizabeth bore him :—

¹ "Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise : for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

"And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countries seruice and his owne honour, seeing death is ineuitable and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, *Mutare vel timere sperno*."²

Two voyages which he undertook at his own cost, which shattered his fortune, and failed, as they naturally might, since inefficient help or mutiny of subordinates, or other disorders, are inevitable conditions under which more or less great men must be content to see their great thoughts mutilated by the feebleness of their instruments, did not dishearten him ; and in June 1583 a last fleet of five ships

¹ I quote the extracts from Hakluyt, instead of Mr Froude's modernized versions.

² His [Raleigh's] half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having obtained a patent to colonize some parts of North America, he embarked in this adventure ; but meeting with a Spanish fleet, after a smart engagement, they returned without success, in 1579.—*Platt*, v. 231.

sailed from the port of Dartmouth, with commission from the queen to discover and take possession from latitude 45° to 50° North—a voyage not a little noteworthy, there being planted in the course of it the first English colony west of the Atlantic. Elizabeth had a foreboding that she would never see him again. She sent him a jewel as a last token of her favour, and she desired Raleigh to have his picture taken before he went.

The history of the voyage was written by a Mr Edward Hayes, of Dartmouth, one of the principal actors in it, and as a composition it is more remarkable for fine writing than any very commendable thought in the author. But Sir Humfrey's nature shines through the infirmity of his chronicler; and in the end, indeed, Mr Hayes himself is subdued into a better mind. He had lost money by the voyage, and we will hope his higher nature was only under a temporary eclipse. The fleet consisted (it is well to observe the ships and the size of them) of the *Delight*, 120 tons; the barque *Raleigh*, 200 tons (this ship deserted off the Land's End); the *Golden Hinde* and the *Swallow*, 40 tons each; and the *Squirrel*, which was called the frigate, 10 tons. For the uninitiated in such matters, we may add, that if in a vessel the size of the last, a member of the Yacht Club would consider that he had earned a club-room immortality, if he had ventured a run in the depth of summer from Cowes to the Channel Islands.

"We were in number in all (says Mr Hayes) about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action; also, minerall men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse[s], and May-like conceits to delight the Sauage people."

The expedition reached Newfoundland without accident. St John's was taken possession of, and a colony left there; and Sir Humfrey then set out exploring along the American coast to the south, he himself doing all the work in his little 10-ton cutter, the service being too dangerous for the larger vessels to venture on. One of these had remained at St John's. He was now accompanied only by the *Delight* and the *Golden Hinde*, and these two keeping as near the shore as they dared, he spent what remained of the summer examining every creek and bay, marking the soundings, taking the bearings of the possible harbours, and risking his life, as every hour he was obliged to risk it in such a service, in thus leading, as it were, the forlorn hope in the conquest of the New World. How dangerous it was we shall presently see. It was towards the end of August.

"The evening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral or *Delight* continued in sounding of Trumpets with Drummes and Fifes;

also winding the Cornets and Haughtboyes, and in the end of their iollitie left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels."

Two days after came the storm; the Delight struck upon a bank, and went down in sight of the other vessels, which were unable to render her any help. Sir Humfrey's papers, among other things, were all lost in her; at the time considered by him an irreparable misfortune. But it was little matter, he was never to need them. The Golden Hinde and the Squirrel were now left alone of the five ships. The provisions were running short, and the summer season was closing. Both crews were on short allowance; and with much difficulty Sir Humfrey was prevailed upon to be satisfied for the present with what he had done, and to lay off for England.

"So vpon Saturday, in the afternoone, the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forsooke, a very lion, to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour; not swimming after the maner of a beast by moouing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight; neither yet diuing vnder and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish; but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding, Notwithstanding, we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along, turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth and glaring eies; and, to bidde vs a farewell, comming right against the Hinde, he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in the shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliuer. But he took it for *Bonum Omen*, reioycing that he was to warre against such anemie, if it were the deuill."

We have no doubt that he did think it was the devil; men in those days believing really that evil was more than a principle or a necessary accident, and that in all their labour for God and for right, they must make their account to have to fight with the devil in his proper person. But if we are to call it superstition, and if this were no devil in the form of a roaring lion, but a mere great seal or sea-lion, it is a more innocent superstition to impersonate so real a power, and it requires a bolder heart to rise up against it and defy it in its living terror, than to sublimate it away into a philosophical principle, and to forget to battle with it in speculating on its origin and nature. But to follow the brave Sir Humfrey, whose work of fighting with the devil was now over, and who was passing to his reward. The 2nd of September the General came on board the Golden Hinde 'to

make merry with us.' He greatly deplored the loss of his books and papers, but he was full of confidence from what he had seen, and talked with eagerness and warmth of the new expedition for the following spring. Apocryphal gold-mines still occupying the minds of Mr Hayes and others, they were persuaded that Sir Humfrey was keeping to himself some such discovery which he had secretly made, and they tried hard to extract it from him. They could make nothing, however, of his odd ironical answers, and their sorrow at the catastrophe which followed is sadly blended with disappointment that such a secret should have perished. Sir Humfrey doubtless saw America with other eyes than theirs, and gold-mines richer than California in its huge rivers and savannahs.

'Leaving the issue of this good hope [about the gold], (continues Mr Hayes), vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was God's ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement persuation and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaille to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his frigate; . . . and when he was intreated by the captaine, master, and others, his well-wishers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigate, this was his answer—"I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils."

Two-thirds of the way home, they met foul weather and terrible seas, 'breaking short and pyramid wise.' Men who had all their lives 'occupied the sea' had never seen it more outrageous. 'We had also vpon our maine-yard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux.'

"Munday, the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigate was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recovered, and giuing forth signes of ioy, the Generall, sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind so oft as we did approach within hearing, "We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land," reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was. The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke or not long after, the Frigate being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight; and withall our watch cried, the General was cast away, which was too true.

"Thus faithfully (concludes Mr Hayes, in some degree rising above himself) I have related this story, wherein may alwaies appeare though he be extinguished, some sparkes of the Knight's vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the service of God and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America. . . . Such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueeth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our

travelling into those Northwest lands,¹ the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors which before we noted to bee in this gentleman, and made vnsauorie and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

"Then as he was refined and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God, so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his and euery other high and noble minde haue alwayes aspired."

Such was Sir Humfrey Gilbert; still in the prime of his years when the Atlantic swallowed him. Like the gleam of a landscape lit suddenly for a moment by the lightning, these few scenes flash down to us across the centuries: but what a life must that have been of which this was the conclusion! We have glimpses of him a few years earlier, when he won his spurs in Ireland—won them by deeds which to us seem terrible in their ruthlessness, but which won the applause of Sir Henry Sidney as too high for praise or even reward. Chequered like all of us with lines of light and darkness, he was, nevertheless, one of a race which has ceased to be. We look round for them, and we can hardly believe that the same blood is flowing in our veins. Brave we may still be, and strong perhaps as they, but the high moral grace² which made bravery and strength so beautiful is departed from us for ever.—Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*; vol. ii. p. 136-45.

¹ Hayes says further:—

'These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreads rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy succeſſe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expence of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as myselfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so unfortunately incumbered with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.'—*Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 145.

² Compare 'the intemperate humours' of which Hayes speaks above. I don't believe Mr Froude's conclusion a bit, though it was generous in him to write it. The Victorian gentleman mayn't have so much devil in him, or break out into such humours, as the Elizabethan: but in moral grace he is far ahead of him. Self-restraint and moral grace have grown in the latter days.

Some other details as to Sir Humphrey's early life are given in Platt's *Universal Biography*,¹ and follow here :

"Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a brave officer and navigator, born about 1539, in Devonshire, of an ancient and honourable family. He inherited a considerable fortune from his father. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. Being introduced at court by his aunt, Mrs Catharine Ashley, then in the Queen's service, he was diverted from the study of the law, and commenced soldier. Having distinguished himself in several military expeditions, particularly that of Newhaven, in 1563, he was sent over to Ireland to assist in suppressing a rebellion, where, for his singular services, he was made commander-in-chief and governor of Munster, and knighted by the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, Jan. 1, 1570. He returned soon after to England, where he married a rich heiress. In 1572 he sailed with a squadron of nine ships to reinforce colonel Morgan, who meditated the recovery of Flushing. In 1576 he published his book on the north-west passage to the East Indies. In 1578 he obtained an ample patent, empowering him to possess in North America any lands then unsettled. He sailed to Newfoundland, but soon after returned to England without success ; nevertheless, in 1583 he embarked a second time with five ships, the largest of which put back on account of a contagious distemper on board. He landed at Newfoundland on the 3rd of August, and on the 5th took possession of the harbour of St John's. By virtue of his patent he granted leases to several people ; but though none of them remained there at that time, they settled afterwards in consequence of these leases ; so that Sir Humphrey deserves to be remembered as the real founder of the vast American empire. On the 20th of August he put to sea again, on board a small sloop, which on the 29th foundered in a hard gale of wind. Thus perished Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of quick parts, a brave officer, a good mathematician, a skilful navigator, and of a very enterprising genius. He was also remarkable for his eloquence, being much admired for his patriotic speeches in the English and Irish Parliaments. His work entitled 'A Discourse to prove, a passage by the north-west to Cathaia and the East Indies,' is a masterly performance, and is preserved in Hakluyt's collection of voyages, vol. iii. p. 11. The style is superior to most, if not to all, the writers of that age, and shows the author to have been a man of considerable reading."—*Platt's Universal Biography*, vol. v. p. 219.

The Poet Gascoigne, in his Epistle to the Reader, in *A Discourse for a new Passage to Cataia*. VVritten by Sir Humphrey Gilbert,

¹ See also Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 287 ; Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Bliss ; Rose's *Biogr. Dict.* ; *Pict. Hist. of England*, ii. 791.

Knight, imprinted, A.D. 1576,¹ says of the 'right worshipful and my very friend,' the author :

"In whose commendation I woulde fayne write as muche as hee deserueth, were I not afrayde to bee condemned by him of flatterie, which blame (with my friendes) I vse not to deserue. But surely, over and besides that, hee is a gentleman wel and worshipfully borne and bredde, and well tryed to bee valiant in martiall affayres, wherby hee hath worthely beene constituted a coronell and generall in places requisite, and hath with sufficiencie discharged the same, both in this Realme, and in forreigne Nations: hee is also indued with sundrie great gyftes of the minde, and generally well giuen to th' aduancemente of knowledge and vertue. All whiche good partes I rather set downe constrained by the present occasion, then prompted by any vaine desire to currie fauoure with my friende. For his vertues are sufficient to praise themselves. And it shalbe a sufficient conclusion for my prayses, to wishe that our realme had store of suche Gentlemen."²

The contents of Sir Humphrey's scheme bear out fully all that was said in the Forewords to the *Babees Book* on the neglect of education by the English nobility and gentry. 'Whereas now the most parte of them [the gentlemen within this realm] are good for no-thinge' (p. 12), Sir Humphrey's aim is to make them 'good for some what.' 'Wheareas by wardeship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this Realme haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educasions' (p. 10), they may now be brought up well, 'wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in times paste knew nothing but to hallow a hounde or lure a hawke' (p. 11): the very words of Pace's earlier fool of a so-called English Gentleman—the race is not like the Dodo yet—'it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skilfully, and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to "the sons of rustics" (*Babees Book*, p. xiii); the words too of Skelton (*Colyn Clout*, Dyce's ed. i. 334),

¹ Also in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii. 11, ed. 1600.

² "Sir Humphrey was ready to try and make the passage himself; he had, says Gascoigne, prepared his owne bodie to abide the malice of the windes and waues, and was euen ready to haue perfourmed the voyage in proper person, if he had not beene by her Maiestie otherwise commanded and employed in martiall affaires, aswell in Ireland, as sithence in other places." *Ibid.*

But noble men borne, 621
 To lerne they haue scorne,
 But hunt and blowe an horne,
 Lepe ouer lakes and dykes,
 Set nothing by polytykes.

Again, the laziness and viciousness of those who did go to Universities, is complained of (p. 10), and the crying evil of the education of those only places of training pointed out,—an evil of which they are not yet free,—their narrowness: that ‘schol learninges’ only are taught at Oxford and Cambridge; no ‘matters of action meet for present practize, both of peace and warre.’ This narrowness made men then, as in later days, ‘vtterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely.’ Other protests by Sir Humphrey against this narrowness are seen in other parts of his plan, of which the first will come especially home to the hearts of our own Members, the study and use of *English*¹ (as against Latin) on which he insists at p. 2, complaining of ‘the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly commen from the vniuersities.’ ‘Besides, in what language soeuer learninge is attained, the appliaunce to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in counsell, in commyssion, and other offices of Common Weale.’ Again, Sir Humphrey would have lectures on ‘Ciuill Pollicie.’ By which meanes Children shall learne more at home of the ciuill pollicies of all forraine countries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue trauailed farthest abroad.’ . . . and ‘men shalbe taught more witt and policy than schole-learninge can deliuer . . . ffor [as Chaucer says] the greatest Schole Clarks are not always the wisest men . . . ffor suche as govern Common Weales, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish circumstances of the same’ (p. 3, 4). Again, Sir Humphrey would have his boys ‘muscular Christians,’ would teach them riding (p. 4), shooting, and marching (p. 5), navigation and the parts of a ship (p. 5), simple doctoring (p. 5, 6), and Natural Philosophy—the teachers of the two latter practising together ‘to search and try owt the secreates of nature, as many waies as they possible may.’—‘The Phisition should also teach surgery. By reason

¹ See Babees Book, p. lix.

that Chirurgerie is not now to be learned in any other place then in a Barbers Shoppe' (p. 6). Law is to be taught because 'It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen, should lerne to be able to put their owne case in law, and to haue some iudgment in the office of a Justice of Peace, and Sheriffe.' Of languages, besides Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (p. 2), French, Italian, and High Dutch or German (p. 7) are to be taught. 'Also there shalbe one Master of Defence, who shalbe principally expert in the Rapier and Dagger' &c., and who was to 'haue a dispensation against the Statute of Roages,' under which he would have been liable to branding and imprisonment, &c. (See Pref. to *Awdeley and Harman*, p. xiii.) So also the Phisician and Natural Philosopher were to be protected from the statute against Alchemists (p. 6). Music was also to be taught¹; and the mention of the *Bandora* here (p. 7) enables us to say that Sir Humphrey's scheme was not written before 1562, when the *Bandora* was first invented by John Rose, citizen of London (see Notes, p. 111). Heraldry was to be taught too (p. 8), but not, we may be sure, with the nonsense clinging round its origin, of which a sample is given in pages 93-102 of the present volume. For other particulars the reader is referred to the little tract itself; but let him notice that the 'scrooging poor men's sons out of the endowments only for the poor' (*Babees Book*, p. xxxvi.) of which Harrison complained in 1577, and another writer before, was going on in Sir Humphrey's time :

And also the other vniuersities shall then better suffice to releive poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen, taking vp their schollarshippes *and* fellowshippes, do disapointe the poore of their livinges and avauncementes.

The plan of the Achademy is in fact one for the establishment of a great London University for the education of youths in the art of political, social, and practical life,—a kind of prototype of the London University so wisely pleaded for of late years by Professor Seeley, which should gather into itself the whole range of modern London teachers and studies. I venture to think that Sir Humphrey's scheme will not detract from his fame for nobleness of spirit, keenness of sight, and directness of aim. After the copy of the tract

¹ See Forewords to the *Babees Book*, p. xxiii.

in this volume had been printed, Mr Wheatley informed me that Sir Henry Ellis had printed it before in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 506, &c. But this fact only rendered the presence of the *Academy* here more appropriate, as our Extra Series is for reprints. I only wish Sir Henry had added some of the notes and illustrations to the tract, which he was so much more competent to give than I am, so that I might have reprinted those too.

The second tract, 'a Booke of Precedence' (p. 13), is printed, not mainly because 'John Bull loves a Lord'—although sensible outsiders proved to him last session that his dear Peers were politically hereditary nuisances, the obstructers of all liberal legislation,—but because the question of Precedence was so important a one in old social arrangements, and the feeling of caste still so strongly pervades all English society. Moreover, it is curious to know that a lady of title, in the presence of her higher in rank, might not have her train borne by a woman, though she might by a man (p. 15), as that marked her lowerness of station; while a poor baroness mightn't have her train borne by any one; but if she had a gown with a train, she was obliged to bear it herself (p. 25).

The third and fourth pieces in this volume describe, the third shortly (p. 29-31), and the fourth at greater length (p. 32-36), the manner of ordering the funerals of noble or knightly persons in late Popish times in England. One is bound to show how people's corpses were dressed and dealt with, as well as their bodies; and to some churchy and upholstery people the details in these parts will no doubt have a more special interest. The 'Liveries for Noblemen att Interyments,' at p. 36, represent, I suppose, the scarf, hatband, and gloves, given to commoners at funerals now.

The fifth piece is the 'Definition of the Esquier,' of which copies more or less different are found so often in MSS and books. Next, ought to have been added a short account of a curious, solemn procession of one of our Tudor queens, when she took to her chamber to lie in, and bear a child; but between Mr Childs and me the copy somehow disappeared. It shall, however, be printed in our third 'Babee,' if that ever sees the light.

The sixth piece is therefore a late and quite-changed version of

'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter,' *Babees Book*, p. 36, while the seventh piece is a less late and less changed version of the same poem, but still having enough differences, and noting enough fresh points of conduct, to render it worth printing.

As might have been expected concerning such teachings in early days, there is somewhat plainer speaking on the part of the mother, put down in the MS, than would appear in print now, as well as record of a ruder butcher-remark by the lookers-on, when a young woman happened to lift her petticoats rather high :

- ¶ Doȝttur, seyde þe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
¶ And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt ; 52
¶ Thow hit plese hem for a tym,
hit schall be thy de-spytt,
¶ And men wyll sey
"of þi body þou carst but lytt." 56
¶ Witt an) O and an) I,
seyd Hit is full ryve,
¶ "The bocher' schewyð feyre his flesche,
for he wold sell hit full blythe." 60

But that the thing was once done in Scotland, we have Sir David Lyndesay's testimony :

Bot I lauch oest to se ane Nwn,
Gar beir hir taill aboue hir bwn,
For no thing ellis, as I suppois,
Bot for to schaw hir lillie quhyte hois.

Sir D. Lyndesay's *Syde Tailis*, l. 55-8.

Marketing was also one of the occasions of warning and danger to young women :

Go not as it wer A gase
Fro house to house, to seke þe mase ;
Ne go þou not to no merket
To sell thi thryft ; be wer of itte.

Later on, Stubs comments savagely on the purposes which merchants' wives made carrying their baskets serve ; another satirist has the following skit on the practice :

Item, I bequethe to euery yong woman maydenlyke, when she shall goe to the market, a poore woman to buye her meate, that she

in the mene time may go to a baudy house for her recreacion, or elles to a dauncyng scoole to learne facions, &c. (*The Wyll of the Deuyll, and last Testament*, ab. 1550, A.D., p. 10 of Collier's reprint.)

The poet who wrote the version at p. 46, l. 73-5, below, and exhorted young damsels not to go to a wrestling, or a cock-fighting, or 'shooting,' like a strumpet or a gyglote (light hussy), would, I suppose, have been scandalized if he could have heard of Victorian ladies attending a pigeon-match, to say nothing of wrestling-matches, and athletic sports. Manners change, and mutual charity is needed when one time sets itself to judge another. In one of Mr Lumby's forthcoming texts for the Society, there is an extremely interesting Scotch version of the Good Wife, called *The Thewis of Gudwomen*, in 320 lines, p. 103-112, *Ratis Raving*, Book III.

The eighth and ninth pieces (pp. 52, 56) are altered versions of 'How the Good Man taught his Son,' and 'Stans puer ad Mensam,' *Babees Book*, pp. 48, 26; though the latter poem is so enlarged, by the addition of an Introduction and many new maxims, that it has hardly a claim to the title of Lydgate's short poem. The present copy dates itself, more or less nearly, by its telling the servants not to wear laced sleeves; for those sleeves were fashionable in Edward IV.'s reign, and the lacing was put across a full-padded sleeve. The nobility and gentry of the day conceived that this wearing of 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.,' was their special privilege; and accordingly, a statute of the 3rd year of Edward IV. A.D. 1463, forbids any yeoman or person under that degree to wear these bolsters, and therefore the laced sleeves; see p. 62, note. Of an earlier kind of sleeve, Occleve complains below, p. 106, as we shall see. Who the Dr Palere is, who is introduced into our 9th piece so often (p. 63-4), as a great authority, I do not know.

For our 10th and 11th pieces (p. 65, 66), we have altered versions of 'The A B C of Aristotle,' of which two copies were printed in the *Babees Book*, p. 9-12. The 10th piece, p. 65-6, is so different from its originals as to almost claim the character of a new piece.

In the 12th piece, 'Proverbs of Good Counsel,' of which I don't remember any other copy, there is a nice line, 'of all treasure, Knowledge is the flower:'

Son), yf þou wyste whate thyngⁱ hyt were,
 Connyngⁱ to lerne, & with þ^e to bere,
 Thow wold not myspend on howre ;
 for of all Tresure Conny[n]gⁱ ys flowur. 50

Passing over the simple 13th piece, p. 71, we come to the 14th and 15th, 'Good Aduice to a Gouvernour,' and 'Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen ;' and we are shown by the satire of the 16th piece, 'The Sage Fool's Testament' (p. 77),—though it is of an earlier date than the two bits that precede it—how much needed the Good Advice to the Governor and Nobleman really was ; how power and place, with money and little restraint, worked in early social England. There's a good slice of English History in that Fool's Testament ; and I commend it to the reader.

As an Appendix to it I have added our 17th piece, Lydgate's 'Order of Fools,' p. 79, a poor copy of a poor poem, but no doubt containing among its 63 caps, one that'll fit each of us.

In the 18th piece (p. 85), are three interesting little bits, 'When England shall come to Grief,' 'All is phantom that we deal with'—eternity alone, reality,—and 'Ills of our Time,' when a good sure friend is hard to find. Of this last, a fuller copy, with Latin originals, is given as our 20th piece at p. 88.

The intervening poem, No. 19, p. 86, is the only pathetic piece in the volume. In his Northern dialect the writer, deserted by unkind, false friends, asks 'Qwat sal I do ?' Loving and true himself, he cannot understand why the world is thus false to him. He complains to God, desiring to die, and prays Him to quite those who have made his life so hard to lead. May his sad burden be new to all of us :

that I most trayste,
 it is all waste !
 sor may me rew !

The 21st, 22nd, and 23rd pieces are a change : 'The Order of the Ladies at the Coronation of Queen Catherine, Queen of Henry VII.' (p. 89) ; 'Courses of a Dinner and Supper given by Sir John Cornwell to Henry V. ;' and 'Courses of a Meal or Banquet.' The latter were printed by Mr Edward Leaven of the British Museum, he sends me word, in a late number of the *Journal of the Archaeological*


Association, but as it is not on the shelf of the Museum Reading-room, where it ought to be, I cannot say what Mr Levien has made of these meals. For me, they are just continuations of Russell's in the *Babees Book*; and the cracking of one nut in them pleased me—*samaka*, p. 89.—What it could be I couldn't conceive; perhaps some preserve of salmon, if fish were potted in those days: but the *Forme of Cury's Sambocade*, p. 77, which the excellent Pegge never put in his unalphabetical Glossary that worries everybody who refers to it, proved the needful pair of crackers; it was—'Sambocade; as made of the *Sambucus* or Elder' (Pegge): curds, sugar, white of eggs, flavoured with elder-flowers, put in a crust, baked up with 'curose'—whatever that may be: 'curiously!' says Pegge,—and messed forth.

The reader has seen that our gallant Sir Humphrey Gilbert would have Heraldry taught in his *Achademy* (pp. xi, 8). It is beyond question that our ancestors attributed much importance to the study of the art that recorded their descent and alliances; and, no doubt, one's namesakes with the Conqueror and Cœur de Lion thought much of their arms, if they had any, as their Caerlaverock follower had.

This interest of our old men in the subject, is my only excuse for printing the 24th piece in this volume, a Poem on Heraldry (p. 93-102), about gules, and pales, and tortells, and masklewis, &c. &c., which are all Hebrew to me. A wonderful and fearful language it is that Heralds talk; but I've bought a little *Grammar of Heraldry* by Mr Cussans (Longmans, 1866), and hope, by the help of the woodcuts, to understand it some day. Well, in turning over the Harleian Catalogue, I came on the title of this Poem (vol. iii. 332, col. 1), and Mr Bond, the Keeper of the MSS, decided that it was in the same hand as the second treatise in its volume, Harl. 6149, which is described in the Catalogue as "A treatise of the Signification of Armory, . . . and at the end is 'Explicit iste liber honorabil. armig. Wilelm. civit. de Jordelleth als. marchemond herald,' or something near it, with the date 1494."

Not much sense was to be made out of this; but a reference to the MS showed that the rubric printed in the Catalogue, though defaced in parts by dashes of black ink, was yet quite readable with

a little trouble ; and the ‘something near it’ of the Catalogue, proved to be :

Explicit iste liber honorabili armigero Wilelmo cummyn de Inuerellochy¹ alias Marchemond heraldo per  **[=manum] Ade loutfut² Anno Domini M° CCCC° nonagesimo quarto mensis uero Septembris.** [Harleian MS 6149, leaf 44.]

Thus one of the many skews in the Harleian Catalogue was set straight. (Don’t let any one abuse the first Cataloguer of a Collection for skews. For all Catalogues (as for all Indexes) one ought to be grateful : for those without mistakes, most grateful.)

The questions then were, 1. Who was Sir William Cummyn? and, 2. was the Poem by him, or at least by a Scotchman, as from its language it seemed to be? The 2nd question was most kindly answered in the negative by a learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, whose name Mr David Laing mentioned to me, and who responded to the application of me, a stranger, by sending me the valuable notes printed on pages 102—104 below, and in them pointing out that certain marks of cadency mentioned in the poem were never used in Scotch Heraldry, though they were in English. The conclusion then forced on me was, that Adam Loutfut, Sir Wm. Cummyn’s scribe, had copied the poem from an English original, and scottified it as he copied, in the same way as he has scottified in leaves 83—108 of his MS, A “Buk of thordre of Cheualry translatid out of Franche in to Ynglis by me Willzham Caxtonne duelling in Westmynstre ;” which scottification I hope some day to print opposite Caxton’s own text, to see what the worthy Adam—who sometimes copied *f* for *s*, *c* for *t*, and vice versâ, &c. &c.—has made of our rare old printer’s southern speech.

What made the question of the authorship more important was, that the writer of the poem tells us he has written a Siege of Thebes (l. 30), A Troy-Book (l. 36-9), and a Brut (l. 52); perhaps three books : perhaps only one, taking in the three stories generally told separately. Here are the lines ; the reader can judge for himself :

¹ ‘Innerellochy,’ say the Charters, p. xxii below.

² *or* loutfut.

The eldest, gret, most *populus*, mortal were,
 wes at thebes, quhiche at lynth I did write,
 Quhare palamonne and arsite, woundit there,
 Be *ther* cotis of armes knawin parfite, 32
 Be *heraldis* war, sum sais, bot *that* I nyte,
 ffor in *thai* dais *heraldis* war not create,
 Nor *that* armes set in propir estate.

Bot eftir *that* troy, quhar so many kingis war 36
 Seging without, and *other* within the tounne,
 So many *princis*, *knychtis*, and peple there,
 as this my buk the most sentence did soune,
 all *thocht* spedful in o conclusiounne, 40
 That nobillis bere *merkis*, to mak be knawin,
ther douchtynes in dedis of armes schawin :

Than troy distroyit, the *werris* endit, the *lordis*
 I seir *landis* removit ; and so *brutus*,
 (his lif and dait my buk efter *recordis*,) 52
 Come in brutane with *folkis* *populus*,
 And brocht with him *this* werly *merkis* thus,
 quhiche succedis in armes to *this* date ;
 Bot lang efter troy, *heraldis* war nocht creat. 56

Now Lydgate wrote a Troy-Book and a Siege of Thebes. He may also have written a Brut of some kind ; but I do not believe that he was the English author whom Loutfut scottified. The writer of the poem must surely have been a Herald's clerk, or a Herald of an inferior degree,—though as proud as a peacock of his order and his art, and his fellows, the salt of the earth,—for he thus speaks of the Heralds above him :

How *thai* ¹ be born, in quhat *kindis*, and quhare, 196
 also be quhom, and eftir in excellence,
 That I refer to my *lordis* to declair,
 kingis of armes, and *heraldis* of prudens,
 and *persewantis*,² and grant my negligens 200
 that I suld not attempe *thus* to commounne,
 Bot of *ther* grace, correctiounne, and pardounne, 202

And I confess my simple insufficiens :
 Iltil haf I sene, and reportit weil less,
 of *this* *materis* to haf experience.
 Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express, 248

¹ That is, planets, signs of the air, herbs, birds, fishes, borne as arms.

² They, the 3rd and lowest order of Heralds, are yet above the writer.

In my waiknes, *and* not of wilfulnes,
 my seid lordis correk me diligent,
 To maid menis, or sey *the* remanent !

Wanted, then, the author of the present poem and the Siege of Thebes, the Troy Book, and Brut, above named.

It is possible that he may have been a Frenchman, *if* the heraldry suits the French rules—as my Scotch authority tells me it does not, for many reasons, and especially that the classification of *roundles* was quite unknown in France,—for another treatise once in this collection of Sir Wm. Cummy'n's, but now cut out, was translated for him from the French, by his obedient son in the office of Arms, Kintyre, Pursevant :

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaf 78.*]

[H]eir eftyr folowis ane lytil trecky of the Instruccioun of the figuris of armes and of the blasoning of the samyn, eftir the fraynche oppinyon,¹ translatit owt of fraynche in Scottis at the command of ane wirschepfull man, Wilzem Cumyn of Inuerellochquy, alias Marchemond herald, be his obedient sone in the office of armes, kintyre, purseuant, and vndir his correccioun, as efter folowis be cheptours

(The treatise itself is cut out from the MS.)

Having looked through the MS and dipped into likely-seeming parts, I think it quite certain that the writer of the poem does not refer to any of the short tracts in this MS volume of Sir Wm. Cummy'n's, in none of which tracts could he have written "at linth," as he says, of the Theban War. Mr E. Brock, who has gone in like manner over the volume, is of the same opinion. In the 2nd tract in the volume, "the Signification of Armoury,"—the 1st is the frequent "Gaige of Battaill"—Julius Cæsar is spoken of, as in the poem (lines 57, 204), as the originator of Arms.

[*Harl. MS 6149, leaf 5.*]

In the tyme that Iulius Cesar, emperour of romme, conquest Afferik, Sumtyme namyt the land lucyant in the partis of Orient, Rychtsua quhen pompe of romme conquest Ewrop, *other* wais callit the land of Ionnet, in the occident, than war maid the rial officis til

¹ MS oppimyon.

wnderstand and govern al thingis pertenyng to the craft of armes, and for to discut and jüge the richtis that followis ther-appon. In the first wes constitut and ordanit be the said princis the office of counstable ; Secoundly, the office of ammerall ; The third, the office of marschall ; The ferd war maid the capitany the fift, to be at jagement of armes the heraldis, and ilkane of thaim seruand in his degree.

Passing over the 3rd tract in the volume, on the Habiliments of Knights, (leaf 44), and the 4th, on Funerals (leaf 48), we come to the 5th, *Liber Armorum*, of which Mr Brock says,

'There is no account of any wars in the *Liber Armorum*,¹ so far as I can see ; but there is a fabulous story which traces the gradual rise of Arms, &c.² A similar story is given in 'The First Fynding of Armes' at leaf 140.³ It makes mention of Troy and certain Trojans.

Here is an extract :—

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaf 141, back.*]

And for to proced forther in our materis, the quhilk kind of peple of the forsad lemares ; within certane process of 3eris come our lady that I spak of before, the quhilk lemares wes trogelius dochter, that maid troye beforsaid quether for the britons cornyfyne (?), and wald be lawe of petigre chalain kinrend of the vergin our lady, of the fader joachim, because thaj war troians, and come of troye be lynage of trogelius. To pas in our materis ; Trogelius had three sonnys in troy, The eldast wes callit arbaldus, The secound is callit Erewfilix, The third arbegraganus. [of whom] within v^c 3ere, be rycht lynne come Ectour of troye, through al the warld anne of the ix worthiest. of the eldast-sone arbaldus, efter the distructione of troye xij 3eris, be rycht lynne come brutus, of the quhilk rycht lyne of brutus within certane process of 3eris come arthour, anne of the ix worthi, through al the warld be law of armes callit. Of the second sone, Erewfilix saragen in sertagia, efter the distructione of troe vj^c 3ere xlvij ; come Iulius Cesar, and enterit in brettane that tyme apon cace, mony wynter befor king arthour.

¹ A book of heraldry, superscribed 'Incipit liber Armorum,' the first chapter of which is, 'How gentilmen shal be knowene from churles, and how thai fyrst began, and how Noye dyvyded the world in thre parts to his three sonnes.' *Harl. Catal.*

² The whole MS seems to be written by the same hand, except perhaps these two tracts : Art. 6, lf. 62, **De coloribus in armis depictis et eorum nobilitate ac differencia.** Art. 7, lf. 79, *Heraldorum nomen et officium vnde extorsum sit Epistola, &c.*

³ "Here begynnys the first fynding of armes callit the origynall. . . ."

I repeat again, then, ‘Wanted, the author of our Poem and his three other Books!’

To hark back to our 2nd question, p. xvii above, ‘Who was Sir William Cummy of Inverellochy?’ The answer is given in the following extract from the Appendix to Mr George Seton’s *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863, to which Mr David Laing was good enough to refer me, and which Appendix Mr Seton states to be greatly indebted to Mr Laing’s researches¹:

‘Sir William Cumyng of Inverallochy, Co. Aberdeen—c. 1512. Second son of William Cumyng of Culter and Inverallochy (?), by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Meldrum of Fyvie, and fourth in descent from Jardine, second son of William Cumyng, Earl of Buchan, who got the lands of Inverallochy from his father in the year 1270. (Nisbet’s Heraldry, ii. Appendix, p. 57.) Sir William appears to have held the office of Marchmont Herald in the year 1499 (Reg. Secreti Sigilli); and the lands of Innerlochy were granted to him and Margaret Hay, his spouse, by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 18th January, 1503-4. He was knighted in 1507, and in a charter of glebe lands in favour of John Quhyte (31st January, 1513), he is described as “circumspectus vir Will^{ms} Cumyn de Innerlochy, Rex Armorum supremi domini nostri Regis.” (General Hutton’s Transcripts, Adv. Lib.) His character of “circumspectus” (canny) is thus referred to by Bishop Leslie, in connection with the year 1513:—“Leo fecialis Angli Regis responsum sapienter eludit.” (History of Scotland, 1578, p. 361.) In a deed dated 17th July, 1514, he is styled, “Willelmus Cumyng de Innerallochy miles, alias Leo Rex Armorum;” and again, in 1518, he is designed “Lioun King-of-Armes.” The following curious account of Cumyng’s insult by Lord Drummond, in the year 1515, is from the Genealogie of the House of Drummond, compiled by the first Viscount Strathallan in 1681, and printed about thirty years ago:—“John Lord Drummond was a great promoter of the match betwixt his own grandchild, Archibald Earle of Angus, and the widow Queen of King James the Fourth, Margaret Teudores; for he caused his own brother, Master Walter Drummond’s sone, Mr John Drummond, dean of Dumblane and person of Kinnowl, solemnize the matrimonial bond in the Kirk of Kinnowl, in the year 1514. Bot this marriage begot such jealousie in the rulers of the State, that the Earle of Angus was cited to appear before the Council, and Sir William Cummin of Innerallochy, Knight, Lyon King-at-Armes, appointed to deliver the charge; in doeing whereof, he seemed to the Lord Drummond to have approached the Earle with more boldness than discretion, for which he (Lord D.) gave the Lyon a box on the ear; whereof he complained to John Duke of Albany,

¹ See also the note, p. 102 below.

then newly made Governor to King James the Fifth, and the Governor, to give an example of his justice at his first entry to his new office, caused imprison the Lord Drummond's person in the Castle of Blackness, and forfeit his estate to the Crown for his rashness. Bot the Duke considering, after information, what a fyne man the Lord was, and how strongly allyed with most of the great families in the nation, wes well pleased that the Queen-mother and three Estates of Parliament, should interceed for him ; so he was soone restored to his libbertie and fortune."—Page 478 (Appendix, Notices of the Lyon Kings-of-Arms), Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863.

Mr David Laing writes :—

" 'Cumming' is the modern mode of spelling the name. In earlier times there are a great variety, such as Cumin, Cumine, Cuming, Cumyng, etc. The form in the Museum MS should be preferred.

The following is copied from the List of Charters under the Great Seal.

Cumming alias Merch- mond Herauld	{ Carta Willielmo, et Margaretæ Hay ejus Sponsæ, Terrarum de Innerlochy, 18 Janrij 1503
Cumyn alias Merch- mond Herauld	{ Carta Willielmo, super Maritagijs Suorum hæredum 4 Apr ^{is} 1507
Cumyng filio	{ Carta Willielmo, filio et hæredi Willielmi Cumyng de Innerellochy, Militis, Terra- rum de Innerellochy &c." 14 Julij 1513

The 25th piece in our volume was brought under my notice by the note ^k in Warton, ii. 480, on Lyndesay's *Syde Taillis* already quoted in these Forewords at p. xiii, and which the reader will perhaps have characterized, with Warton, as a poem having 'more humour than decency.' It is a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, and now in type for the Society's Part V. of Lyndesay's Works, under Mr J. A. H. Murray's editorship. The note in Warton says, 'Compare a manuscript poem of Occleve: *Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men, which is azens her astate*. MSS Laud K. 78, f. 67 b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is against pendent sleeves, sweeping the ground, which, with their fur, amount to more than twenty pounds.' There are no doubt better MS copies of the poem than that printed here ; but I had not time to hunt for them, and Mr George Parker copied this Laud one, and read it with

the MS, as he did the other pieces from the Bodleian in this volume. It may have been printed before, but is not in the Percy Society's Poems and Songs on Costume, or any other volume that I remember.

The 26th and last piece in Part I. is a short extract from the least uninteresting part of Sir Peter Idle's 'Instructions to his Son' in the Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 4, 37, for which I am indebted to a young friend of Mr H. Bradshaw's, who wisely learns MSS as well as Mathematics, at college. The treatise has been long on our list for printing, Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica* having tempted me, with this description, p. 64, to put it there :

IDLE PETER, of Kent, esquire, wrote '*Liber consolacionis et consilii*,' or Instructions to his son, extant in the Bodleian Library (Digby, 181), where his name is 'Peter Idywerte;' in the publick library, Cambridge (MSS More 124, [now Ee. 4, 37]); in the British Museum (MSS Har. 172, leaf 21), and in Trinity College, Dublin, D. 2. 7: 'In the begynnynge of thys lytill werke.'

But on looking through the MS, I found it at first little more than an expansion of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and like poems,¹ while in the latter part it went off into biblical and saints'-lives stories, of little interest to modern ears. So, though we must print the poem some day, it may stand over for a time. Print it, I say, because, if our old people were dull, foolish, and dirty, as well as interesting, wise, noble, and pure, we want the dulness, folly, and dirt, as well as their interestingness, wisdom, nobleness, and purity. We don't want to deceive ourselves about them, or fancy them cherubs without sterns. Let's know their weakness as well as their strength, and not talk gammon about 'the good old times' without looking fairly into them; though, when we have done this, we may still be able to say to the rest of the world, 'Match our old men if you can!'

This volume, then, the reader will see, may be looked on, from one point of view, as a kind of Resurrection Pie like we used to have once a week at school, in which we declared old left bits reappeared. But I prefer another metaphor, and hold, that through all the book's

¹ Our extract should be compared with the *Babees Book* piece, pp. 34-5, 'Of the Manners to bring one to Honour and Welfare.'

different-looking limbs, one life of old England runs ; and as irreverent friends in the Society have christened the first *Babees Book* my babee, I prefer to look on this present volume as my 2nd babee. Some may care to look at its eyes, some at its toes ; some may perhaps penetrate to its navel, that continual marvel to the infantile mind ¹ ; prigs, no doubt, will scorn it all as trash ; but it may lead some back to knowledge of days nearer England's childhood than our time is ; and if it does, I shall be content.

To Mr J. M. Cowper of Faversham, who has kindly made the Indexes to Part I. ; to Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, and the learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, who have helped in the very difficult Heraldry Poem ; to our copiers and readers, Messrs E. Brock, G. Parker (of Oxford), and W. M. Wood ; and lastly to Mr W. M. Rossetti and Mr Oswald for their valuable and interesting Essays in Part II., I tender hearty thanks.

Nov. 14, 1869.

¹ I wonder whether Chaucerian and Tudor babies kept on asking their daddies 'What's this for?' as they put their little fingers in the hole, and when scolded as naughty boys, answered with 'Gog, gog!' and a grin.

PART I.

Early English Treatises and Poems

ON

Education, Precedence, and Manners

in

Olden Time.

FROM MSS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND BODLEIAN
LIBRARIES, ETC.

Queene Elizabethes Achademy,

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT).

Lansdowne MS. 98, art 1, leaf 2.

The erection of an ¹**Achademy in London** for educacion of her *Maiestes Wardes*, and others the youth of nobility and gentlemen.

fforasmuch as (moste excellent soveraigne) the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen that happen to be *your Maiestes Wardes*, the Custody of their bodies beinge of bownty grawnted to some, in rewarde of service or otherwise, not without your honorable Confidence of their good educacion, yet, neverthesse, most commonly by such to whom they are committed, or by those to whom such Committees have sould them, being eyther of evill, religion, or insufficient qualities, are, thorough the defaltes of their guardens, for the moste parte brought vp, to no small grief of their frendes, in Idlenes *and* lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable vertues to their prince and Cowntrey, obscurely drowned in educac[i]on for sparing Charges, of purpose to abase their mindes, leaste, being better qualified, they should disdaine to stowpe to the mariage of such purchasers daughters; As, also, for that the greatest number of younge gentlemen within this Realme are most Conversant abowte **London**, where *your Maiestes* Cowrte hath most ordinarie residence; Yt were good (as I thincke, vnder *Your Highnes* most gracious Correction,) that, for

¹ This Clarendon type is used for the words in larger letters in the MS.

their better educacions, there should be an **Achademy** erected in sorte as followeth:—

first, there shalbe one Scholemaister, who shall teache **Grammar**, both greke and latine, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 40^{li.} 1

Also there shalbe allowed to him fower **Vshers**, every of them being yerely allowed for the same, 20^{li.}; which maketh in the whole by the yeare, 80^{li.}

Also there shalbe one who shall reade and teache the **Hebrue tounge**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 50^{li.} 1

Also there shalbe one who shall reade and teache bothe **Logick and Rethorick**, and shall weekely, on certen dayes therefore apointed, see his schollers dispute and exercize the same, and shalbe yearely allowed therefore, 40^{li.} 1

[leaf 2, back]

Note.

When the Orator shall practize his schollers in the exercize thereof, he shall chiefly do yt in **Orations** made in English, both politike and militare, taking occasions owt of Discowrses of histories, approving or reproving the matter, not onely by reason, but also with the examples and stratagemmes both antick and moderne. ffor of what Comodity such vse of arte wilbe in our tounge may partly be seene by the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly Commen from the vniuersities: besides, in what language soeuer learninge is attayned, the apliaunce to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in Cownsell, in Commyssion, and other offices of Common Weale. I omit to shew what ornament will therby growe to our tounge, and how able yt will appeare for strengthe and plenty when, by such exercizes, learning shall haue brought vnto yt the Choyse of wordes, the building of sentences, the garnishmente of figures, and other beautyes of **Oratorie**.—Wherevpon I haue heard that the famous knight **Sir Iohn Cheeke** devised to haue declamacions, and other such exercizes, sometimes in the vniuersities performed in **English**.

My Reason.

This kinde of educacion is fittest for them, becawse they are wardes to the prince, by reason of knights service. And also, by this exercize, art shalbe practized, reason sharpened, and all the noble exploytes that ever were or are to be done, together with the occasions of their victories or overthrowes, shall continually be kepte in

¹ over 66^{li.} 13^{s.} 4^{d.} struck out.

fresh memory ; Wherby wise cownsell in dowbtfull matters of warre and state shall not be to seeke among this trained Company when need shall require. ffor not without Cawse is **Epaminondas** commended, who, riding or Iourneying in time of peace, vsed oftentimes sodenly to appose his Company vpon the oportunity of any place, saying, "What yf our enemies were here or there, what were best to doe?"

Also there shalbe one **Reader of morall philosophie**, who shall onely reade the **politique parte** thereof, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 100^{li}

Note.

This **philosophor** shall distinctly deuide his **Readinges** by the day into two sortes,—The one concerning **Ciuill pollicie**, The other concerning **Martiall pollicy**.

Of Peace.

[leaf 3]

In the discowrses towchyng **Peace**, he shall alleage particularly the estates of all **monarchies** and best known **Common weales or principates** that both haue bene and are, Togeather with the distinct manner of their gouernementes towching **Ciuill pollicie**, And the principall Cawse concerning **Iustice, or their Reuenues**, wherby they [be] any way encreased or diminished. And the same to be done, as neare as Conveniently may be, with speciall apliance of our owne histories, to the present estate and gouernement of this **Realme**. By which meanes Childeren shall learne more at home of the **ciuill pollicies** of all forraine Cowntries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue travailed farthest abroad.

Of Warres.

And towching **warres**, he shall also particularly declare what manner of forces they had and haue, and what were and are the distinct disciplines and kindes of arminge, training and maintaining, of their soldiars in every particuler kind of service.

My Reason.

By directing the **Lectures** to thendes afforesaid, men shalbe taught more witt and pollicy then **Schole learninges** can deliuer. And therefore meetest for the best sorte, to whom yt chiefly apertaineth to haue the managing of matters of estate and pollicy. ffor the greatest **Schole clarkes** are not alwayes the wisest men.¹ Where-

¹ The grettest clerks beth not the wisest men,

As whilom to the wolf thus spak the mare.

CHAUCER. *Cant. Tales*, l. 4051-2.

vpon **Licurgus**, among other lawes, ordained that **Scholes** should be for childeren, and not for **philosophie**. ffor suche as governe **Common weales**, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish *Circumstances* of the same.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of naturall philosophie**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe placed two **Mathematicians**, And the one of them shall one day reade **Arithmetick**, and the other day **Geometry**, which shalbe onely employed to **Imbattelinges, fortificacions, and matters of warre, with the practiz of Artillery**, and vse of all manner of Instrumentes belonging to the same. And shall once every moneth practize **Canonrie** (shewing the manner of **vndermininges**), and trayne his **Awditorie** to draw in paper, make in modell, and stake owt all kindes of **fortificac[i]ons**, as well to prevent the **mine and sappe**, as the **Canon**, with all sortes of **encampinges and Imbattelinges**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 100^{li}.

[leaf 3, back] Also this Inginer shalbe yearely allowed for the **powder and shotte** which shalbe employed for the practize of **Canonry** and the vse of **mines**, ... 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe vnder him one **Vsher**, who shall teach his schollers the principles of **Arithmetick**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe one other **Vsher**, who shall teach his **Schollers** the principles of **Geometrie**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe entertained into the said **Achademy** one good horsman, to teache noble men and gentlemen to ride, make, and handle, a ready horse, exercizing them to runne at **Ringe, Tilte, Townrey, and cowrse of the fiede**, yf they shalbe armed. And also to skirmish on horsbacke with **pistolles**, not taking for the learning of any one of them above 10^s. by the moneth, he finding them horses for that purpose, and shalbe bownd to keepe theare 10 greate ready horses for the said exercise, beinge yearely allowed therefore, ... 333^{li}. 6^s. 8^d.

This **Rider** shall haue allowed vnto him at the first erecting of the Stable, to buy his horses, ... 266^{li}. 13^s. 4^d.

This **Rider**, at his first Coming vnto the office, shall enter into bondes with sufficient sureties to leave vnto the **Achademie**, at his death or departure, the said horses, in as good estate as he receaved them, or others as good, or the full summe which he was allowed for the buying of them.

Also there shalbe entertained one perfect trained **Sowldiour**, who shall teach them to handle the **Harquebuz**, and to practize in the said **Achademie** all kindes of **Skirmishinges**, **Imbattelinges**, and sonderly kindes of **marchinges**, apointinge amonge them, some one tyme, and some another, to suply the roames of **Capitaines** and other officers, Which they may very well exercize without **armes**, and with light staves, in steade of **Pikes** and **Holbeardes**, beinge yearly allowed for the same, ... 66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d.

[leaf 4] The other **Mathematician** shall reade one day **Cosmographie** and **Astronomy**, and the other day tend the practizes thereof, onely to the arte of **Naugacion**, with the knowledge of necessary **starres**, making vse of Instrumentes apertaining to the same; and also shall haue in his **Schole** a shippe *and* gallye, made in modell, thoroughly rigged and furnished, to teache vnto his Awditory as well the knowledge and vse by name of euery parte thereof, as also the perfect arte of a **Shipwright**, and diversity of all sortes of moldes apertaining to the same, *and* shalbe yearly allowed, ... 66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d.

Also there shalbe one who shall teache to draw **mappes**, **Sea chartes**, &c., and to take by view of eye the platte of any thinge, and shall reade the growndes *and* rules of **proportion** and **necessarie perspectiue** and **mensuration** belonging to the same, and shalbe yearly allowed, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe entertained one **Doctor of phisick**, who shall one day reade **phisick**, and another daie **Chirurgerie**, in the **Englishe toung**, towching all kindes of **Vlcers**, **Sores**, **Phistiloes**, **wowndes**, &c. Togeather with all kindes of **medicines** for the same, as well **Chimice** as otherwise, and shalbe yearly allowed, ... 100^{li}.

Note.

This **Reader** shall never alleage any medicine, be yt of **simples**, **salues**, **saltes**, **balmes**, **oyles**, **spirites**, **tinctures**, or otherwise, But that he shall declare the **reason philosophicall** of euery **particuler**

ingredience for such operacion, And shew his hearers the **mechanicall** making and working thereof, with all manner of **vesselles, furnishes, and other Instrumentes and vtensiles** apertaining to the same.

Note.

This **phisition** shall continually practize togeather with the **naturall philosophor**, by the fire and otherwise, to search and try owt the secreates of nature, as many waies as they possiblie may. And shalbe sworne once euery yeare to deliuer into the **Treasorer** his office, faire and plaine written in Parchment, without **Equiuocac[i]ons** or **Enigmaticall phrases**, vnder their handes, all those their proofes and trialles made within the forepassed yeare, Togeather with the true evente of thinges, and all other necessary accidentes growing therby, To thend that their **Successors** may knowe both the way of their working, and the event thereof, the better to follow the good, and avoyd the evill, which in time must of force bring great thinges to light, yf in **Awcomistrie** there be any such thinges hidden. ffor whose saffetyes I would wish the Statute of the 5th of **Henry the 4th** towching **multiplicacion** to be dispensed at large.

[leaf 4, back]

My Reason.

The **Phisition** shall practize to reade **Chirurgerie**, becawse, thorough wante of learning therein, we haue verie few good **Chirur-gions**, yf any at all, By reason that **Chirurgerie** is not now to be learned in any other place then in a **Barbors shoppe**, And in that shoppe, most dawngerous, especially in tyme of plague, when the ordinarie trimming of men for **Clenlynes** must be done by those which haue to do with infected personnes.

Note.

This **Philosophor and phisition** shall haue a garden apointed them which they shall furnish and maintaine with all kindes of simples; and shalbe yearely allowed, besides their **Lectures**, for their afforesaid extra ordinarie Charge and practizes, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of the ciuill law**, who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of diuinitie**, who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Lawier**, who shall reade the growndes of the **common lawes**, and shall draw the same, as neare as may be, into **Maximes**, as is done in the booke of the **ciuill lawes** entituled **de Regulis Iuris**, for the more facile teachinge of his **Awditorie**.

And also shall sett downe and teache exquisitely the office of a **Iustice of peace and Sheriffe**, not medling with plees or cunning poinctes of the law ; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 100^{li.} [over 66^{li.} 13^{s.} 4^{d.} struck out.]

My Reason.

It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen should learne to be able to put their owne Case in law, and to haue some Iudgment in the office of a **Iustice of peace and Sheriffe** ; for thorough the want thereof the beste are oftentymes subiecte to the direction of farre their **Inferiors**.

Note.

I would haue this **Lawier** to traine the younger sorte of his hearers to some exercise therein, wherby they may the better grow to be able to put their owne Cases, and to vnderstand perfectly the offices afforesaid, which is as much as I would wish them to learne of the law theare. ffor yf they desire more knowledg, the **Innes of cownte** may suffice them.

[leaf 5] Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the french tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li.}

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wage of 10^{li.}

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Italian tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li.}

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10^{li.}

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Spanish tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li.}

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the highe duche tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li.}

Also there shalbe one **Master of defence**, who shalbe principally expert in the **Rapier and dagger, the Sworde and tergat, the gripe of the dagger, the battaile axe and the pike**, and shall theare publicly teach, who shall also haue a dispensation against the Statute of **Roages** ; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26^{li.}

Also there shalbe one who shall keepe a **dawncing and vawting schole** ; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26^{li.}

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of Musick**, and to play one the **Lute, the Bandora, and Cytterne, &c.** ; who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li.}

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10^{li.}

Also there shalbe yearely allowed for a Steward, **cookes, Butlers,**
and other necessary officers, 100^{li.}

Also there shalbe yearely allowed for a **minister and clark,**
66^{li.} 13^{s.} 4^{d.}

Also there shalbe one perfect **Harowlde of armes**, who shall teach
noble men *and* gentlemen to blaze armes, and also the arte of
Harrowldrie; togeather with the keeping of a **Register** in the said
Achademy of their discentes *and* **pedigrues**; and shalbe yearely
allowed for the same, 26^{li.}

Also there shalbe one keeper of the **Liberarie** of the **Achademy**,
whose Charge shalbe to see the bookes there saffely kepte, to Cawse
them to be bownd in good sorte, made fast, and orderly set, And
shall keepe a **Register** of all the bookes in the said **Liberarie**, that
he may geve accompte of them when the **Master** of the **Wardes**, or
the **Rector of the Achademy** shall apoincte; and shalbe yearely
allowed, 26^{li.}

[leaf 5, back]

Note.

This **Keeper**, after every marte, shall Cawse the bringers of
bookes into England to exhibit to him their **Registers**, before they
vtter any to any other person, that he may pervse the same, and take
Choyse of such as the **Achademie** shall wante, and shall make the
Master of the **Wardes**, or the **Rector of the Achademy**, privy to his
Choyse, vpon whose warrante the bookes so provided shalbe payed
for. And there shalbe yearely allowed for the buying of bookes for
the said **Library**, and other necessary instrumentes, ... 40^{li.}

Note.

All **Printers in England** shall for ever be Charged to deliuer into
the **Library of the Achademy**, at their owne Charges, one Copy,
well bownde, of euery booke, proclamacion, or pamflette, that they
shall printe.

Also there shalbe one **Treasurer of the Achademy**, who shalbe
yearely allowed for the same, 100^{li.}

Also there shalbe one **Rector of the said Achademy**, who shall
make tryall of the nature and Inclination of the **wardes**, to thend
that they may, by his direction, be employed principally in suche
profession whereto their nature doth most conforme, the **Master** of
the **wardes** being made privy therevnto; *and* shalbe yearely allowed
100^{li.}

Also the *Master* of the **cowrte of wardes**, from tyme to tyme, shalbe the chieftest **gouernor** of this **Achademy**, becawse the oversight of wardes doth Chiefly belonge vnto him; *and* shalbe yearely allowed for the same 200^{li.}

Also there shalbe geuen in stocke for the furnishing of a **Liberarie** and **Instrumentes** apertaining to the same, Togeather with the buying of horses, as afforesaid, and all other necessary thinges for the first furnishing of this **Achademy**, 2000^{li.}

The afforesaid whole yearely wages and Charges }
of this **Achademy** amownteth vnto } 2507^{li.} 6^{s.} 8^{d.}

The whole yearely Charges for the Commons of }
the said **Readers, officers, and seruantes** in this } 459^{li.} 6^{s.} 8^{d.}
Achademy amownteth vnto }

which maketh yearely in all 2966^{li.} 13^{s.} 4^{d.}

Here wanteth leuyes for the building or buying of howses for this **Achademy**.

Certaine orders to be obserued.

[leaf 6]

All the fforesaid **publique Readers of arte and the common lawes** shall once within every six yeares set forth some new bookes in printe, according to their severall professions.

Also every one of those which shall publicly teache any of the languages as afforesaid, shall once every 3 yeares publish in printe some **Translation** into the **English tounge** of some good worke, as neare as may be for the advawncing of those thinges which shalbe practized in the said **Achademy**.

All which bookes shall for ever be entituled as set forth by the gentlemen of **Queene Elizabethes Achademy**, wherby all the nations of the worlde shall, once every 6 yeares at the furthest, receaue greate benefitt, to your highnes immortall fame.

Also for ever, the 7th day of **September** and the 17th day of **Nouember**, there shalbe a **Sermon in the Achademy**, wherby the **Awditory** shalbe put in minde who was the fownder thereof. By which meanes the tounge of man shall write for ever in the eares of the living, to the honour of the deade.

There are divers necessary thinges to be further Considered of, all which I omitte vntill your *Maiesty* be resolved what to do herein.

The Comodities which will ensue by erecting this Achademy.

At this present, the estate of gentlemen cannot well traine vp their childeren within this **Realme** but eyther in **Oxford** or **Cambridge**, whereof this ensueth :

ffirst, being theare, they vtterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely. ffor there is no other **gentlemanlike** qualitie to be attained.

Also, by the evill example of suche, those which would aply their studies are drawn to licentiousnes and Idlenes; and, therefore, yt were every way better that they were in any other place then theare.

[leaf 6, back] And wheareas in the vniuersities men study onely **schole learnings**, in this **Achademy** they shall study matters of accion meet for present practize, both of peace and warre. And yf they will not dispose themselves to **letters**, yet they may learne languages, or martiall activities for the service of their Cowntrey. Yf neyther the one nor the other, Then may they exercise themselves in qualities meet for a gentleman. And also the other vniuersities shall then better suffice to releive poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen,¹ taking vp their schollarshippes and fellowshippes, do disapoincte² the poore² of their livinges and avauncementes.

Also all those gentlemen of the **Innes of cowrte** which shall not apply them selves to *the* study of the lawes, may then exercise them selves in this **Achademy** in other qualities meet for a gentleman. The Cowrtiers and other gentlemen abowte **London**, having good oportunity, may likewise do the same. All which do now for the moste parte loose their times.

further, wheareas by wardship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this **Realme** haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educac[i]ons, your Maiesty may by order apoincte them to be brought vp during their minorities in this **Achademy**,² from xij to his full age³, if he [be] a gentleman by the father of fve dissentes, and to haue the prynses allowanse towards *the* same², whosoever haue the wardshippe of his bodye, yf yt shallbe fownde by office that he may yearely dispend 13^{li.} 6^{s.} 8^{d.} Both **Plato** and **Licurgus**, withe other greate **Philosophors**, having bene of opinion that the

¹ See *Babees Book*, p. xxxvii.

^{2,2} Interlined by another hand.

³ MS. ore ege.

educacion of childeren should not altogether be vnder the puissance of their fathers, but vnder the publike power and aucthority, because the publike haue therein more Interesse then their parentes. Wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in tymes paste knew nothing but to hallow a hownde or lure a hawke¹, which thing will much assuage the present grief that good and godly parentes endure by that tenure² of wardship. ffor (as yt is) yt not onely hurteth the body, but also (as yt were) killeth the sowle *and* darkeneth the eyes of reason with Ignorawnce. And when the best shall ordinarily be men of such rare vertue, Then the prince and Realme shall not so much from tyme to tyme be Charged, as they haue bene, in rewarding the well deservers. ffor honnour is a sufficient paymente for him that hath inoughe. Wheareas in tymes paste the poorest sorte were best able to deserve at the princes handes, which, without great Charges to the prince, could not be maintained. So that when theis thinges shalbe performed, ordinarie vertue can beare no price. And then younger brothers may eate grasse, yf they cannot atchieue to excell; which will bring a blessed emulac'on to England. It being also no smalle Comodity that the nobility of England shalbe therby in their youthes brought vp in amity and acquintaunce. And above all other, this chiefly is to be accompted of, that, by these meanes, all the best sorte shalbe trained vp in the knowledge of gods word (which is the onely fowndac[i]on of true obedience to the prince), who otherwise, thorough evill teachers, might be corrupted with papistrie.

[leaf 7] O noble prince, that god shall blesse so farre as to be the onely meane of bringing this seely, frosen, Island into such everlasting honnour that all the nations of the World shall knowe and say, when the face of an **English gentleman appeareth**, that he is eyther a **Sowldiour, a philosophor, or a gallant Cowrtier**; wherby in glory *your Maiesty* shall make *your self* second to no prince living. ffor, as **Seneca** sayeth, **Cato**, by banishing Vice in **Rome**, did deserve more honnour then **Scipio** did by conquering the **Carthagians**.

And wheareas the fame of the noblest Conquerors that ever were is onely renewed by history,—which is knowen but to a few **His-**

¹ See *Babees Book*, p. xiii.

² altered from 'bondage.'

toriographers,—*your maiesty* shall not onely haue *your* share thereof, but also for evermore, once every .3. or 6. yeares at the most, fill the eyes of the world with new and chaunge of matter, wherby all sortes of **Studentes** shalbe alwaies put in minde of **Queene Elizabethes Achademy**. And in the mean tyme, the perving of the old, and expectac[i]on for the new, shall occupy Continually euery mannes tounge with **Queene Elizabethes fame**. So that *your maiesty*, being deade, shall make *your* sepulchre for ever in the mowthes of the livinge. Wherby, also, *your highnes* may saye of *your* predecessors as **Zenobia that famous Queene did to Awrelius Emperor of Rome**, which was to this effecte: “Thy Cowrte,” sayeth she, “is replenished with Ignoraunce and many Vices, wheareas my Cowrte is full fraughted with vertue.” Yea, and what further? By *your highnes* the Cowrte of England shall become for ever an Achademy of **Philosophie and Chiualrie**. . . Among the **Lacedemonians** learning bare such price, that the ffather which gaue no learning to his Childe in his youth, did lose the succor and service which was due to him in his olde age. The **Kinges** of this **Realme** (supplying over their wardes the roames of their deceased parentes) haue the vse of their livinges during their minorityes, principally for to traine them vp in vertue, which for Conscience sake oughte not by them to be forgotten.

To conclude, by erecting this **Achademie**, there shalbe heareafter, in effecte, no gentleman within this **Realme** but good for some what, Wheareas now the most parte of them are good for nothings. And yet therby the **Cowrte** shall not onely be greatly encreased with gallant gentlemen, but also with men of vertue, wherby *your Maiesties* and **Successors cowrtes** shalbe for ever, in steade of a **Nurserie of Idlenes**, become a most noble **Achademy of Chiuallic pollicy and philosophie**, to *your* greate fame. And better it is to haue **Renowme** among the good sorte, then to be lorde over the whole world¹. ffor so shall *your Maiesty* make *your* self to live among men for ever (wheareas all flesh hath but small continuaunce), and therwithall bringe youre selfe into goddes fauour, so farre as the benefittes of good workes may prevaile.

¹ ‘there being no such riches vnder heaven as to be well thought of,’ struck out.

A Book of Precedence.

[*Harl. MS 1440, leaf 11 (old numbering 8).*]

The Copie of a Booke of Precedence of all estates *and* playcinge to ther degrees.

Cornellis van dalw.

A DUKE.

A Duke must goe after his creation, and not after his Dukedome; the Dutchesse his wife to goe according to the same; he to haue in his howse a Cloth of Estate, and in eury place Els out of the princes presence, so that the same Com not to the ground by halfe a yarde; and likewise a dutchesse may haue her Cloth of Estate, and a barones to beare vp hir trayne in her owne howse.

A Duke may have a Cloth of Estate.

And there ought no Earle of Duty to washe with a Duke, but at the duke's pleasure.

Item. a Dukes Eldest sonn is Borne a Marquesse, and shall goe as a Marquisse, and weare as many poudringes¹ as a Marquisse, and haue his Assayes,² the Marquisse being present, saueing he shall goe beneath a Marquisse, and his

A Duke's eldest son is a Marquis.

¹ POWDERINGS: Small pieces of fur powdered or sprinkled on others, resembling the spots on ermine.—Halliwell. *Powderings*, certain Devices us'd for the filling up of any void space in carved Works, Writings, Æscutcheons, &c., which last are sometimes said *To be powder'd with Ermins*.—Kersey's Phillips, 1706. (See p. 28.)

² Tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it. See *Babees Book*, p. 196, 315.

wife beneath the marchionesse, And aboue all dukes daughters; but if so be that a duke haue a daughter *which* is his whole heyre, if she be the Eldest dukes daughter, Then she shall goe before and aboue the younger dukes Eldest sonns wyfe.

A Duke's daughter is a Marchioness.

Item. a dukes daughter is borne a Marchionesse, and shall weare as many Poudringes as a Marchionesse, Sauing she shall goe beneth all marchionesse[s], and all dukes Eldest sonnes wyues. They shall haue none assayes in the marchionesses presens; and if they be maryed to a barron, they shall goe according to the decree of there husband. And yf they be married to a knight, or to men vnder the decree of a knight, then they are to haue place according to theyre Birthe.

Her rank when married.

A Duke's younger sons are Earls.

Item. all Dukes younger sonns be borne as Earles, and shall weare as many poudrings as an Earle, saueing they shall goe beneath all Earles and Marquises eldest sonns, and aboue all viscounts; and there wyues shall go beneath all Countisses and marquises daughters, and aboue all viscountesses next to Marquises daughters.

Item. all Dukes daughters shall goe all-one with a nother, soe that alwayes the Eldest Dukes Daughter go vpermost, vnlesse it be the Princes pleasure to the Contrary.

Of a Duke's creation.

Item. [at] the creation of a duke, he must haue on him his surcoate and hooode, and he must be lead betweene 2 Dukes, if there be any *present*; if ¹ not, a Marquisse or 2; and for want of a Marquis, an Erle: some ² what before him on the right hand shall goe an Earle, *which* shall beare the Capp of Estate, with the Coronnett ³ on it; and on the other syde against him shall goe an Earle, *which* shall beare the rod of goulde: and directly before the duke *that* is to be created must goe a Marquis of ⁴ the greatest Estate, to beare the sowrd in the scabert by the poynt, with the girdle thereto belonging, the pommell

¹ MS is

² MS sonn

³ MS Coromnett

⁴ MS or

vpward ; and before him an Erle to bare the Mantell or Robe of Estate, lyinge alonge vpon his armes. All these Lords that *doth seruisse, must be in ther Robes of Estate. Item. His stile is proclaimed twise, the Largesse thrise.

[* leaf 11, bk]
(MS repeats
that)

A MARQUESSE, HIS WYFE, AND CHILLDREN.

A Marquesse must goe after his Creation, and not after his marquisate, and the Marchionesse his wife according to the same ; he to haue a Cloth of Estate in his owne howse, so that it hange a Yarde aboue the ground ; and¹ he to haue it [in] every place savinge in a Dukes howse or in the Princes presence. And he to haue none Assayes in a dukes presence, but his cuppes couered ; neyther may the marchionesse haue her gowne born in a Dutchesses presens but with a gentile-man,—ffor it is accounted a higher degree borne with a woman then with a man ; but in her owne howse she may haue her gowne borne vp with a knights wife : also, ther ought no viscount to wash with a Marquesse, but at the pleasure of a marquisse.

A Marquis to
go by his
creation.

A Marchion-
ess' train,
before a
Duchess, to
be borne by
a man,
and not a
woman.

Item. a Marquesse Eldest sonn is borne an Earle, and shall goe as an Earle, and haue his assaye in an Earles presence, and were as mayny Powdrings as an Earle, saueing he shall goe beneath an Earle, and aboue all dukes younger sonns. And his wife shall goe beneth all Countesses, and aboue all Marquises daughters. But If the Marquesse daughter be his heire, If she be the Elder marquises daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Marquises Eldest sonnes wyues.

A Marquis's
eldest son is
an Earl,

Item. a Marquises daughter is borne a Countisse, and shall weare as mayny powdringes as a Countes, Saueing she shall goe beneath all Countesses and marquises Eldest sonns wyues ; but they shall haue no assayes in any Countisses presence. And If they be married to a Barron, or to any other aboue a barron, then they shall goe according to the

his daughter
a Countess ;

her rank
when mar-
ried.

¹ MS an

degre of there Husbands; and If they be maried to a knight, or vnder the decree of a knight, then they shall goe and haue place according to there birth.

A Marquis's
younger sons
are Vis-
counts.

Item. Marquises younger sonns be borne as viscounts, and shall weare as mayny Powdrings as a viscount, saueing onely they¹ shall goe beneath all viscounts and all Earles Eldest sonns, and aboue all barons; and there wyues shall goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles daughters, and aboue all barronesses.

Item. all Marquises daughters to goe one with a nother, so that alwayes the Eldest Marquises daughter goe vppermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrary.

Of the crea-
tion of a Mar-
quis.

Item. at the Creation of a marquise, he must haue one him his surcourt² and hoode, and Lad by a Duke and Marquise; the sword borne by an Earle, the cappe and Sirculey³ borne by an Earle.

[leaf 12]

AN EARLE, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

An Earle shall goe after his Creation, and not after his Erdome, And the Countisse his wife shall goe according to the same; But he may haue none assayes in a Marquesses presence, but his Cuppe Covred; neither may any Countesse haue her gowne borne in a marchionesses presence with a gentle-woman, but *with* a gentile-man. Also an Earle may haue in his owne howse a Cloth of Estate, *which* shall be fringed rounde about, *without* any pendant. And a barron ought not to washe with any Earle, but at his pleasure.

No Earl to
haue assays
before a
Marquis.

Barons not
to wash with
Earls.

An Earl's
eldest son is
a Viscount.

Item. an Earles Eldest sonn is borne a viscount, and shall goe as a viscount, and shall weare as mayny poudrings as a viscount; but he shall goe beneath all viscounts, and his wife beneath all viscountesses, and aboue all Earles daughters. But If she be the Earles daughter and heire, and the Elder Earles daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Earle Eldest sonnes wyfe.

¹ MS she

² for surcoat

³ ? circlet, coronet,

Item. all Earles daughters be borne as viscountesses, and shall were as mayny poudrings as a viscountesse;¹ yet shall they goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles eldest sonns wyues. And If they be married to a Barron, or to Any other aboue a Barron, than they shall go after the decree of there Housbands; And If they be married to a knight, or vnder the decree of a knight, then they to goe and haue place according to ther birthe.

Earls' daughters are Viscountesses;

Item. all Earles youngest sonnes be borne as Barrons, and shall were as mayny powdrings as a Baron, saueing they shall goe beneth all Barrons and viscountesses Eldest sonnes, and aboue all barronetts; and there wyues shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscountes Daughters, and aboue all Baneretts wyues.

their youngest sons, Barons.

Item, all Erles daughters to goe, on with a nother, the Elder Earles daughter to goe vpermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrarye.

A VISCOUNT, HIS WIFE, AND CHILLDEREN.

[leaf 12, back]

A viscount must goe after his creation, and not after his viscounts[y]; and the visscountesse² his wife must haue place according to the same; and he may haue in his owne howse the cupp of Assaye houlden vnder his Cupp when he drinketh, but none assaye taken;³ he may haue Caruer and Sewer, with there Towells, when they sett there seruise on the table, the viscount being sett at the table. And all viscountesses may haue there gownes borne with a man in the presence of the Countes. Also they may haue Trauers⁴ in there owne howses.

A Viscount

may not have assays taken.

Item. viscounts eldest Sonnes be borne as Barrones, and shall weare as many Powdringes as a barron, saueing

Viscounts' eldest sons are Barons;

¹ MS viscountesses

² MS visscountesses

³ See Russell's Boke of Nourture in *Babees Book*, p. 196, l. 1195-8: tasting and credence (or assaying) belong to no rank under that of an Earl.

⁴ ? *Traverse*, a moveable screen, a low curtain. *Traves*, State Papers, i. 257. (Halliwell.)

he shall goe beneath all barrons, and aboue all Erles younger sonnys ; And his wyfe shall goe beneath all Barronesses, and aboue all viscounts daughters.

their daughters,
Baronesses ; their

Item. Viscounts daughters [be] borne as Barronesses, and shall weare as many powdrings as a Baronesse ; saueing she shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscounts eldest sonns wyues. And yf they be maryed to a Barron, they shall goe after the degree of there husband ; and If they be maryed to a knight, or to any vnder the degree of a knight, then they to go and haue place according to there birth.

youngersons,
Bannerets.

Item. Viscountes younger sonns shall goe as Banneretts, and were as many powdrings as a banneret, saueing they¹ shall goe beneath all barenets.

Item. viscounts daughters to goe one with a nother, so that the Elder viscounts daughters do goe vppermost, vnlesse the princes plesure be to the Contrary.

[leaf 13]

A BARON, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

Of Barons.

A Barron must go after his Creation, so that the Eldest barron goe vppermost ; and the barronesse his wife must goe according to the same ; and they may haue there gownes borne vpp with a man in the presence of a viscountesse. And a barron may haue the Couer of his cupp holden vnderneath when he drinketh.

Barons'
eldest sons
are Banner-
etts.

Item. all Barrons Eldest sonns shall goe and haue place as a Bannerett, and shall haue the vper hand of [a] Bannerett, because his ffather is a peere of the Realme. And all Barrons younger sonns shall goe aboue all batcheler knights, because there ffather is a peere of the Realme.

Of Barons'
daughters.

Item. all Barones daughter[s] shall goe aboue all Banneretts² wyues, and shall weare as much as a banneretts³ wyfe, and shall haue the vpper hand of all banneretts wyues. And If they marry husbands vnder the degree of a knight, then shall they goe and haue place vnder all knightes wyues.

¹ MS she

² MS Bamneretts

³ MS bameretts

Item. all barrons daughters to goe one with a Nother, so that alwayes the Eldest barrones daughter goe vppermost.

memorandum. a lord made by writt, and haueing no new somones by writt, hath no place in the *parliament* howse, but shall retayne and keepe the name of *Lord* during his life, by Reason of the *proclamation* and publication of his name in Court Royall, whether the Children ¹ of shuch lords shall haue place as the Children of other barrons, or how they shall take there places.

Lords made by writt have no place in Parliament.

Item. a knights wife may haue her kirtle borne in her owne howse, or in any other place, so it be not in her betters presence: and she may haue her sheete in her owne howse.

Be it remembered, that if any of all the degrees aboue written com or be desended of the blood Royall, thay ought to S[t]and and haue place aboue all those that be of the degrees whereof they be themselues ²: as a duke of the blood Royall aboue all dukes, and so the like in all other degrees, vnlesse the princes knowne plesure be to the Contrayry.

Blood Royal first.

Item. there are 4 sortes of wayes to make barrons, ether by writt or Creation:—

The 4 ways of making Barons.

1. The first and most vsiall, when they are called by writt to the *parliament* by there owne surname, as *Lord Latymer* of latymer.

2. when they be created by a Nother name in the right of there wif or mother, as pawlet *Lord St. Iohn*.

3. The 3^d when they be created by the name of some Castle, howse, or manner, as Butlet baron of weme.

4. The 4^d is, when ³ they be created by some name of pleasure as the kinge shall best like, as Ratclif *Lord Aegremont*.

Although they be diuersly Called, yet are they all of like calleing; and though in shew some of there dignities

[leaf 13, back]
All Barons equal.

¹ MS Childrem ² See *Babees Book*, p. 190, 285. ³ MS whom

Barons keep
their name
tho' they sell
their estate.

be from the howse, yet is the right and dignitie in the person of the noble man; for although he sell or exchange¹ that cometh the name of his dignitie of, yet shall he still for euer be called barron of the same place, and haue his seate and voyce in the parliament by the same name he was first called and Created; as, for example,—

The Lord Audleigh of Audlegh and helighe Castle sould Bothe² thour & thorn³, and yet is the Barron as he was before.

[leaf 12 back,
at foot]

The Lord Clifford of Clifford exc[h]aunged his castell of Clifford, with other lands therefore, with king Edward the first, for the honour of Craven and other lands there, and yet is the Lord Clifford as before.

Arthur Lord Grey of wilton sould wilton, and bought other lands, and yet is the barron of wilton notwithstanding.

[leaf 13, back] THE PROCEEDING TO THE HIGH COURT OF PERLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER, FROM HER HIGHNES ROYALL PALLACE OF WHITEHALL.

first, mesingers of the Chamber
Gentilemen 2 and 2
Esquires 2 and 2
Esquires for the bodye
The 6 Clarkes of Chancery
Clarkes of the signet
Clarkes of the priue seale
Clarkes of the Councell
The maysters of the Chancery
Batcheler knights
Knights Bannerets
The Trumpeters
Sergiants at the law

¹ MS exchange

² MS Bethe

³ Is it 'tower & thorn,' or 'the one & the other'?

The queenes Sergeant alone
 The queenes Attorny and Soliciter together
 Pursuants of Armes
 The Barrons of the exchequer
 Iustices of the kinges benche and of the Common
 place
 The Lord Cheife Baron together
 The Lord Cheife Iustice of the Comon please
 The Lord Cheife Iustice of England and the master of
 the Rowles together
 Knights of the bathe
 Knights of the priuate Councell
 Knights of the garter

¶ He that Carieth the queenes Cloake and hat.

Barones younger sonns
 Viscounts younger sonns
 Barrons Eldest sonns
 Earles younger sonns
 Viscounts Eldest sonnes
 Marquises younger sonnes
 Earles Eldest sonns
 Dukes younger sonns
 Marquises eldest sonns
 Dukes Eldest sonn
 The Chefe Secratary, no barron
 The Tresurer and Comptrouller
 All the barrons in there Roabes, two and 2, the young-
 est for-most
 All Bishoppes in there Robes, two *and* 2, the youngest
 for-most
 The Lord Admirall and the Lord Chamberlayne to-
 gether, if they be Barrons and l[i]ke degree
 ¶ Heraldes of Armes on the syde
 Viscounts in there Robes, the youngest formost

[leaf 14]

Earles in there Roabes, 2 and 2, youngest formost
 Marquises in there Roabes
 Dukes in there Roabes
 The *Lord* President of the Councell
 and the Lord Priuie Zeale
 ¶ Clarentius and Norrey kings of Armes
 The *Lord* Chancelor and the Lord Tresurer of England
 togeather
 The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Arc[hibi]shop
 of Yorke togeather
 Sergeantes at Armes
 Garter Principall King of Armes
 The Capp of Estate borne by an Earle, and with him
 on the left hand the Earle Marshall of England
 with the gilte rodde
 The Sworde borne by an Earle
 Then the queenes Maiesty on horsbacke, or in chariott,
 in her Robes of Estate, her trayne borne by a
 Dutchesse or Countisse
 The Lord Chamberlayne and vice Chamberlayn on
 each side of the queenes Maiestie
 Then the Pentioners with ther poleaxes on each side of
 her Maiestie
 And a litle behinde her the *Master* of the horsse, lead-
 ing a Spare horse.
 Then Laydyes and gentileweomen, according to there
 Estates, 2 and 2
 Then the Captayne of the Guard, with all the guard
 following him, 2 and 2.

Be it noted, that in proceeding to the parliament, these
 5 bishoppes following keepe there playces ordinariely, who-
 so is in them, viz.—

The Archbishop of Canterbury	} so placed by there
The Archbishop of Yorke, 2	
The Bishopp of London, 3	

dignitie

The Bishopp of Durham, 5

The Bishop of winchester, 4 { the prelate of
winchester heare

(The bishopps of London, winchester, and Durham, so placed by act of *parliament*.)

All other bishoppes take there places according to there creations.

THE PLACEING OF GREATE OFFICERS, ACCORDING TO AN [leaf 14, back]
ACT OF PARLIAMENT MADE IN ANNO XXXj HENRICUS
OCTAUI [A.D. 1539]

These 4, viz.

The Lord vicegarent is to be placed on the bishops side,
about all

1. The lord Chancellor
2. The Lord Tresurer
3. The Lord President of the Councell
4. The Lord Priuy seale

Being of the decree of A Baron or aboue, shall sit
in the perlament and all Assembles of Councell,
and aboue all Dukes not being of the blood Royall,
viz.,

The kinges Brother, Vncle, or Nephew.

These Sixe, viz.,

1. The lord C[h]amberlayne of England
2. The lord Constable of England
3. The lord Marshall of England
4. The lord Admirall of England
5. The lord Greate Master or Lord Steward of the
kinges howse

6. The kings Chamberlayne

Are to be playseed in all assemblyes of Councell
after the lord priuate seale, according to there
degrees and estates ; viz., if he be a barron, about
all barrons ; if he be an Earle, about all Earles.

The Kinges Secretary

being a barron of perliament, shall sitt aboue all barrons; and if he be of higher degree then a barron, he shall sit and be playced according to his degree.

If any of these xi officers aboue mentioned be not of the degre of a barron of *Parliament*, whereby he hath not power to assendt or dissent in the high Court of *Perliament*, Then he or they are to sitt vppon the vppermost wolsack in the *parliament* Chamber, the one aboue the other, in like order as is aboue specified.

THE NUMBER OF MOURNERS AT FUNIRALLS, ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE AND ESTATE OF THE DEFUNCT.

A King to haue mourners	xv
A Queene or a prince	xiiij
A Duke or a Marquisse	xi
An Earle or a Viscount	ix
A Barron	vij
A Knight	v
An Esquire or gentlemen	3

LLIUEYES FOR NOBLE MEN AND GENTILEMEN AT THE PARLIAMENT, OF EURY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS ESTATE.

A Duke to haue for his gowne, sloppe, and mantell, a xvi yards, and liuery for 2 [?] xvij seruauzts.

A Marquesse for his gowne, slope, and mantell, xvj yards, and liuery for xvj seruants.

An Archbishop, as a Duke.

An Earle for his gowne, sloope, and Mantell, xiiij yards, and liuery for xij Seruants.

A viscount for his Gowne and Mantle, xij yards, and liuery for x seruants.

A barron or Barranett, being knight of the garter, for his gowne and hoode, viij yardes, and Liuery for viij Seruants.

A knight, vi yardes, and liuery for iiij Seruants.

An Esquire for the bodye, as a knight, and liuery for iiij Seruants.

All other Esquires and Gentlemen, v yardes, and liuery for 2 seruants.

Be it Remembred, that none may weare a hood vnder the degree of an Esquire of the Kinges houshold, but only tippets of a quarter of a yarde broade; and in tyme of need they to weare hoodes.

Nether may any weare hoodes with a Rowle slyued ouer there heades, or other wayes being of that fashon, vnder the decree of a barron or an Erles sonn, an here bit¹ only without Rowle.

[WHAT SERVANTS NOBLEMEN MAY KEEP.]

A Duke may haue a Tresuror, A Chamberlayne, 4 greate hushers, A steward, A Comptrouller, A master of his howse.

An Erle may haue a secretary, A Comptrouller, A Steward, 2 great hushers, A gentile-man for his howse.

A Baron may haue A Steward, A Clarke of his kitchin, A yeoman of his horse, A gentileman husher (but Couered, and not bare-Hedded when he goeth abrode), And a Yeamon Husher, A grome of his Chamber, A yemon husher of his hall, and his grome, (but no Marshall,) A Sewer Armed, A Caruer, (but vnmarried,) A foreman [?]

his cup couered, t[h]oughe in the presence of his better, but no assay taken at any tyme; his foote Carpit single.

[A BARONESS'S RIGHTS.]

A Baronesse Lying in Childbed may haue single carpetts round about her bead, but no foot sheete, with degrees nor with-out.

¹ ? a hair bit

A Baronesse may haue no trayne borne ; but haueing a gounne with a trayne, she ought to beare it her selfe. Quere, whether she may haue any trayne borne to the greate chamber doore in Court, or noe.

Her gentileman husher goeing before her abroad, ought to goe vncovered.

LIUERYES FFOR NOBLE WOMEN AT THE INTERTAYNEMENT
OF ANY GREATE ESTATE.

A DUTCHESE.

for her selfe xvi yards
for her trapper of her horse, of veluet xvi yardes
and of Cloth v yards
for her 3 gentle weman,¹ 5 yardes a
peece, fiftene yardes xv
for her 3 gentlemen xv yards
ffor her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, 4
kerchiefes
And Liury for 12 seruants.

A COUNTISSE.

for her selfe 12 yardes
for her traper 5 yardes
for her 3 gentilewomen 15 yardes
for her selfe, one mantlet, on barbe, one frontlet, 3
kerchiefes
for her gentle weoman, of Lynen all points as before
a Liury for 8 seruants.

A BARRONESSE.

for her selfe 12 yards
for her tray[er] 5 yardes
for her 2 gentlewomen 10 yardes
for her 2 gentlemen 10 yardes
for her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, and
2 kerchiefes

¹ ? '&' struck out here

for her 2 gentlewomen, 2 mantlets, 2 barbes, 2 front-
letts, and one kerchief.

for her owne gentileweoman, 2 elles of fyne holland,
And liuery for 4 seruants.

LADYES AND GENTLE WEOMEN.

for her selfe 6 yards

for her trayer 4 yardes

for her gentle weomen 3 yards

for her selfe, on Mantelet, one barbe, one frontlet, and
2 kerchifes

And liuery for 4 seruants.

THE ORDER OF ALL ESTATES.

A Dukes Eldest sonnes be Earles, and all the rest of
his sonns are Lords, with the Addition of there Christen
name, as Lord Thomas, Lord Henry.

Item. if the Dukes Eldest sonn, being an Earle, haue
yssue male, his Eldest son shall be called lord of a place or
barrony, and all his other sonns no Lordes but in Curtisy ;
but all his daughters be Ladyes.

The Dukes Eldest sonn, being of the blood Royall,
shall sit or goe aboue a marquesse.

All marquises Eldest sonnes are named no Earles, but
lord of a place or barrony, without any Adission of his
Christen name ; and all his other bretheren, Lordes, with
the Addition of there Christened name.

A Marquesse Eldest sonn of the blood Royall shall sit
or goe aboue an Earle.

An Earles Eldest sonn is called a lord of a place or
Baron[y], and all his other sonnes no lords, but all his
daughters are Ladyes

Eearles Eldest sonn, if he be of the blood Royall, shall [leaf 15, back]
sit and goe aboue a Viscount. If he be not, the[n] aboue
a barron.

A viscounts Eldest sonn is no Lord, nor no other of his sonns, nor none of his daughter[s] ladyes.

A viscounts eldest sònn, yf he be of the blood Royall, shall sit and goe a-boue A baron; yf not, then a-boue a barons sonn; and so of all other dignities.

A slope is a morning Cassock for Ladyes and gentile wemen, not open before.

A surcoate is a mor[n]ing garment mad lyke a Close or straight-bodied gowne, which is worne vnder the mantell; the same for a Countesse must haue a trayne before, A nother behind: for a baronesse no trayne.

The trayne before to be narrow, not exceeding the brea[d]th of 8 inches, and must be trussed vp before vnder the girdle, or borne vppon her left Arme.

p. 13, *Poudringes*; p. 15, *Marchioness's train*. Lord Leconfield writes: "So far as I can learn from others, it is not usual to carry out at State Ceremonies now, the rules laid down in this Book of Precedence with regard to the bearing of the trains of a Marchioness and Duchess.

"The *Pouderings* are, I am informed, bands of ermine, called also *Miniver*; but I cannot learn what number is allotted to each order of Peers. They are worn on the Cape of the Robe."

Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, writes: "the *Pouderings* are surely the same as 'the guards of ermine' in Clark's *Heraldry*, edited by J. R. Planché (Bell and Daldy, 1866). p. 224, 'A Duke's mantle has only 4 guards of ermine with a gold lace above each, that of the Prince having 5,' 'The mantle which a duke wears at the Coronation is doubled with ermine below the elbow, and spotted with 4 rows of spots on each shoulder.'

"From the same book it appears that

a Marquess	has	3½	guards	on	the	shoulder
an Earl	"	3	"	"	"	"
a Viscount	"	2½	"	"	"	"
a Baron	"	2	"	"	"	"

And that the Coronation robes

of a Marquess	have	{	4 rows of spots on the right shoulder	
		3	"	on the left
of an Earl	"	3	"	on each
of a Viscount	"	{	3	on the right
		2	"	on the left
of a Baron	"	2	"	on each

The Ordering of a Funerall for a Noble Person in Hen. 7. time.¹

[*MS Cott. Julius B. xii. leaf 7, back—leaf 8.*]

This Is the ordynauunce And guyding that *perteyneth* vnto the worshippingfull Beryng of Any Astate, to be done in maner And fourme ensuyng.

ffurst, to be offerde A swerde, by the moost worshipfull of the kyn of the saide Estate, And ony² bee presente; elles by the moost worshipfull Man that is present there, on his partie.

Item, In like wise his Shelde, his Coote of worship, his helme and creste.

Item, to be hadde A banere of the Trinitie, A baner of oure Lady, A bannere of Seint george, A baner of the Seynt that was his aduoure, And A Baner of his Armes/ Item A penon of his Armes; Item A Standarde, and his beste therein: Item A geton³ of his devise with his worde.

¹ This heading is in a late hand.

² MS only

³ "Euery baronet, euery estat aboue hym shal have hys baner displayd in y^e feild, yf he be chyef capteyn; euery knyght, his penoun; euery squier or gentleman, his *getoun* or standard, &c. . . . Item, Y^a meyst lawfully fle fro y^e standard & *getoun*, but not fro y^e baner ne penon. . . . Nota, a stremer shal stand in a top of a schyp, or in y^e forcastel: a stremer shal be slyt, & so shal a standard, as well as a *getoun*: a *getoun* shal berr y^e lenght of ij yardes, a standard of iii or 4 yardes, & a stremer of xii. xx. xl. or lx. yardes longe." MS. Harl. 838, quoted by Sir F. Madden in *Archæol.* xxii. 396-7. He adds that Sir H. Nicolas, in the *Retrospect*. Rev. N.S. i. 511, quotes MS. Harl. 2258 and Lansd. leaf 431, the former of which states, "Euery standard & *Guydhome* [whence the etymology of the word is obvious (? F.)] to have in the chief the crosse of St George, to be slitte at the ende, and to conteyne the creste or supporter, with the posey, worde, and devise of the owner . . . a *guydhome* must be two yardes and a halfe, or three yardes longe." But in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 327, is a bill, with "Item, a *gyton* for the shippe of viij yerdis long, poudrid full of raggid staves; for the lymmyng and workmanship, ij s." *Ret.* Rev. i. 511, *ib.*

Item. A doubble valance Aboute the herce, both aboute And by-neith, *with* his worde And his devise written therine.

Item, xij Sc[oc]hons of his Armes to bee sett vpon the barves withoute And *with*in the herse, And iij dosen penselles to stande aboute vpon the herse Amonge the lightes.

Item, to be ordeignede as many scochons as be pilers In the Chirche; And Scochons to bee sett In the iij quarters of the saide chirche, as best is to be sette by discrecion.

Item, as many Torches as the saide Astate was of yeres of Age; And on euery torch A scochon hanging; And the berers of the torches In blakk.

Item, it is to bee ordeignede standing .v. officers of Armes Aboute the saide herse, that Is to say, one byfore the saide herse, bering the cote of Armes worship, And he standing at the hede in the myde-warde of the saide hers. The ij^{de} standing on the right Side of the herse in the fore fronte, bering his Swerde. The iij^{de} standing on the lifte Side of the saide herse, bering his helmet *and* creste; The iiijth on the Right Side of the saide hers, in the Nethere parte of the hers, bering his baner of Armes; And the vth standing on the lifte side, In the nethere parte, he bering his penon, So standing till the offering. And the baners of the trinitie, oure lady, Seinct george, And the baner of his Aduoure¹ to bee sett Aboute In parties of the saide Hers, And his standarde also.

Item. to bee ordeynede *certeyne* clothes of golde for the ladies of his kyn being *with*in the saide hers; And they to offer the saide clothes of golde.

Item, a *certeyne* of Innocentes clothed In white, euery Innocent bering A Taper in his hande.

Item, the hors of the saide estate, trappede *with* his Armes; And a man of armes, being of his kinne, vpon the same hors, or elles eny other mān of worship in his name, hauyng In his hande A Spere, Swhirde, or Axe, so to be presentede to the offering in the Chirche *with* ij worshipfull men, oon gooing on that oon Side of the hors,

¹ Also a pensel to bere in his hande of his *avowrye*. Lansd. MS cited by Douce in *Archæologia*, xvii. 296, and explained by him '*Avowrye*, cognizance, badge, distinction.' See p. 33, below, l. 6.

And that other' oñ that other' Side of the hors, And a man leding the same hors.

Item, the heire of the saide estate, after he hath offrede, shaft Stande vpon the lifte Side of the preste Receyving the Offering of the Swerde, helme, *and* Creste, Baner of Armes, Cote of worship, And penoñ.

Item, ij men of worship to stonde oñ the same Side of the preste, holding A bason, with therin for the offering.

A Funeral in Popish times.

[Ashmole MS 837, art. vi. leaf 133-9, written in the
time of Charles I. or II.]

The order of the
procession is :

1. Friars.
2. Monks.
3. Clerks.
4. Priests.
5. Church-attendants.
6. Prelates.
7. Men in black.
8. Chaplain.
9. Overseers.
10. Executors.
11. Banner-bearers.

[* leaf 133, back.]

12. Herald.
13. The Corpse,
and four gentle-

The manner of Ordering of every man att y^e settynge forth
of the Cors, and how every man shall goe after y^e estate
and Degree that they bee of, in dew order.

First, The Orders of Freres as they bee accustomed.
Then the monkys and Chanons ; after them the
Clarkys ; then the Priests ; and then they of [the]
Church where y^e Body shalbe buried must have the
preeminence to goe nearest the Corse within their
juri[s]diction. Then y^e Prælates that bee in Pontifica-
libus ; Then sertaine gentlemen in Dowle,¹ their hood
vppon their sholders ; Then the Chaplyn or Chaplyns
of the defunct ; next them the Overseers ; Then the
executours veryng their hoods² on their Heddes, going
in good Order, ij *and* ij. Then a gentylman in a
mourning habit, with a hood on his face, to bere y^e
Banner of his Armes, if hee bee not vnder y^e degree of
a Baneret ; and if hee bee but a Bachelour Knight, hee
to have but a Penon of his Armes, and a guidon with his
Creste, And a paust (*sic*) wrytyng therein, and y^e Crose
of *Saint George*. * In y^e first quarter the Banarette to
have his Standard made in likewyse, with his Crest,
the Bannor or Pennon on y^e right side before the Corps,
and the Standard or guidon on the other side before the
Corps, and y^e Herald of Armes betweene them, a space
before theme. Then the Corps and 4 Banners of

¹ mourning. Cf. 'mourning habit,' 6 lines down.

² MS has 'Heddes on their hoods.'

sanctes¹ att the fower Corners, borne by 4 gentilmen men bearing
 in mourning habattes, with hoddys on their faces, Te 4 banners.
 one of the Trynity att y^e Hede, on y^e right side; the
 other, of our Lady, att the Hede on the other side;
 The third, of the Armes of *Saint George*, att y^e Feet
 on the ryght side; The 4th, of his avowry², of the other
 syde: Then next after the Corps, the Chiefe mournour 14. Chief Mourner.
 alone, and the other mournours to goe two *and* two, 15. Other Mourn-
 ceartayne space one from another; and next theyme ers.
 the greatest statys, and a space after theyme all other to 16. Nobles.
 follow as *servantes*, and theyme that will. and when 17. Servants.
 y^e Corps *commyth*, where y^e shall remayne, att the At the west door,
 West dore of the Church, A prælat shall sens the the corpse is
 *Corps, which shall do the devyne service; then sixe of censed,
 theyme of y^e place, being prestys or religious, whither [* leaf 134]
 they bee, bere y^e Corps, or else so many gentylmen;
 and att y^e 4 Corners of the rych Cloth, fower of the
 greatest estates of the sayd Church must bee support-
 yng of y^e iiij Corners, as if they bare him; and so had then borne into
 into the Quier, where must bee a goodly herse well the Quire, where
 garnished with *Lightes*, pencelles, and scochyns of his is a herse, with
 Armes; and if hee bee an Earle, hee must have a lights,
 Cloth of Magesty, with a Vallance fryngyd; and if hee
 bee a Knight Banarett, hee may have a vallance
 fryngyd, and a Bachelour Knight none. The sayd
 herse must bee raylyd about, and hangyd with blake hung with black
 Cloth; and the Grownd within the Rayles must bee cloth.
 coveryd with blake Cloth; And the fourmes that the
 mourners do lene vppon within the Rayles; the Chiefe
 morner att the Head, the other morner att the sydes;
 and the Helme, Crest, wreth, and mantyll must bee att
 the Hede vppon the bere, the shild over the left syde,
 and y^e sword on the right side; The *Cote of Armes [* leaf 134, back]
 on the bere, the banneres to be holdyn without the
 rayles, in forme as they wente; The Herauld to stand

¹ saints. MS sancles.² See p. 30, note.

att the Hedde without the rayles, weryng the Kings Cote of Armes. The derge don, the prelates and pontificalles to Fence the Corps within the rayles, and all the Covente standing about y^e Herse, without the rayles, sing anthems, and say prayers. singing diuerse antems ; and att every Kyrie lyson, one to say with an high voice for y^e sowle A Pater noster : the sayd morneres to bee gon their way before that the Seremonyes bee don : then the .iiij. banneres to bee borne to the grave, but nothing else, then to bee sett agayne att y^e Herse till over the morow that y^e Masses bee sayd : The executoris must see y^e buryng of the Corps ; the Helme, Crest, shilde, Coote of Armes, and swerde, must bee taking away, and sitt apon the high Awter, till over the morow att y^e massis ; then to bee sette over y^e bere.

[leaf 135]

The manner att the Offering att the interrement of
Noble-men.

Next morning all the mourners hear Mass, and make their offerings. First in y^e morning betymes, Masse of our Lady bee [said], the banners to bee holdyn, the helme, Childe,¹ sword, the Cote of Armes, to bee layd vppon y^e bere in dew order, and the morners in there places : Att the offering tyme the cheife morner, accompanyd with all the other, to goe forth att y^e hede, att the left hede of the herse, and none to offer but y^e chiefe mourner att that masse, and hee to offer iij. s. iiij. d. and then to retorne, on the other side, to his place that hee came fro ; the harald weryng his Cote if the mourners bee not present att y^e sayd masse ; The executores to goe in like mannour to y^e offeryng, and none to offer but one of theyme, and then to goe to their places that they came fro.

The 2nd Mass is of the Trinity. The second masse of the trynite att y^e offering likewise, as before fanyng.² That hee shall offer 5s ; and the third masse must bee of *Requiem), and that to bee song

[* leaf 136, back]

¹ Shield.² not 'sauyng' ? (G. P.)

by y^e noblest prelat Pontificalibus. The chefe morn-
 eres, accompanyd as before, shall offer for the masse
 pene vijs viiiij^d; then to their places as they came fro,
 att every tyme; the Heraulde or Heraulds there beyng,
 weryng their Masteres Cote of Armes, going before the
 morners to and fro the offeryng, and so to bring theyme
 to their places agayne on the other side; and the sayd
 officers of Armes to stand without the rayles att the
 Hede.

The Chief Mourn-
 ers offer 7s. 9d. for
 the mass-penny.

Item, there must bee offeryd the Cote of Armes by
 two of the gretyst gentylmen.

The deceased's
 Coat of Arms,

Item, too other to offer his swerd, the pomell and
 the Crosse foreward.

sword,

Item, ij to offer his Helme and Crest, and if hee
 bee of y^e degree of a Earle, then a Knight rydyng on a
 Corser trapyd with the Armes of y^e defunct, the sayd
 Knight armyd att all peces savyng the hede, having in
 his hand a battle-axe, the poynt downeward, led by
 *twey too other Knightes from the west dore of the
 Church tyll hee came to the dext.¹ in the quire, the
 officer or offycers att Armes going before hym; and
 there the sayd Knight to alight, and the sexton there to
 take y^e Horse as is fee, and the Knight to bee ledd to
 the offeryng, and there to offer y^e axe, and the poynt
 downeward; then y^e sayd Knight to bee convayd into
 the revestre, and there to bee vnarmyd.

helm and crest,
 are offered.
 If he was an Earl,

[* leaf 137]

his horse goes as
 the Sexton's fee,
 and his axe to the
 church.

Then the rest of the mornys to goe, too and too, to
 the offeryng; and so to their placys.

Also, yf it bee an Earle, there must bee too gentyl-
 men to bryng too Clothes of bawdkyn from the one
 syde of the quire, and deliver them to the Herald,
 which shall deliver them to too of y^e gretest estatys,
 which must offer theyme, the lowest estate first, and
 then the other, some men calles this Clothys 'pawlls,'
 and sume 'Clothys of gold,' which shall remayne in y^e

For an Earl too,

palls, or cloths of
 gold, must be
 offered.

¹ desk :—the Litany or fald-stool.

Lastly, all offer
that will.
[* leaf 137, back]

Churche ; then all the othyr to offer that wyll,¹ the
gretyst estatys to *offyr first, next after the executores.
The offering don, the sermon to begyn ; and att y^e last
end of the masse, Att ' Verbum Caro,' the banner of
Armes or pennon shalbe offeryd, as y^e state is of degre.

The Nombre of morners, after y^e degre of the defunct.

A King has
15 Mourners,
and a Knight 5.

The King to have xv.	A Earle to have ix.
A Duke to have xiiij.	A Baron to have viij.
A Marcus to have xj.	A Knight to have v.

Syting of Noblemen.

Blood royal gives
precedence to a
noble.

A Dukes sonn *and* heire, beyng of the blood royall,
shalbe sett above A Marquis ; and if hee bee not of y^e
blood Royall, hee shall sitt above an Earle ; And an
Erles eldest sonn, if hee bee of blood ryall, shall sitt
above a Vicount ; and if hee bee not of blood riall,
hee shall sitt above a Baron.

[* leaf 138]
Ladies take their
husbands' rank.

* And as for all Ladyes and gentylwomen : to bee
sytt after the degre of their husbandes ; and if any of
the Ladyes or gentylwomen bee of the blood ryall, the
King may command them att his plesure.

Liberpes for Noblemen att Interpments, every man
acordng to his estat.

A Duke, for his owne slope and mantyl, 16 yerdes
att x s the yerde, and Livery for eighteene ; And a
Erle, for his gowne, slope, and mantyll, sixteene yerdes
att viijs. the yerd, and Livery for 12 *servantes*.

Allowances for a
Baron, who is a
Knight of the
Garter.

A Baron or Banneret, beyng Knight of the Garter,
for his gowne and hood, sixe yerdes ; and Livery for
viij *servantes*.

A Knight, 5 yards, six shillings eight pence y^e yard,
and liuerie for fower *servantes*.

¹ After pat, fast at hande
Comes þo time of offrande :
Offer or leeue, wheþer þe lyst.

A Squyer for y^e Body, as a Knight, and Livery for
iij *servantes*.

All other *Esquires* and gentylmen, att five shillings y^e yard; and *livery for iij *servantes*. And every [* leaf 138, back]
gentylman servant iiij yards.

Non to were no hoodes vnder the degree of a *Esquier* of Household, bot onely typpettes of a quarter of a yard brode; and in tyme of ned the[y] mey wher hoddys.
Hoods worn by Esquires and their superiors: tippets by their inferiors.

Also, non to wher no hoddys with a Roll slyvyd, on his hede, or otherwise beyng of that fasion, vnder y^e degree of a Baron, or an Erles sonn and heire; bott onely hoddys without Rolles.
No hoods with rolls to be worn by any one below a Baron.

Ferz appertayning to y^e Officers att Armys.

Item, att y^e Buryall of on, being a Pere of y^e Realme, of the bloode Ryall, or elles in any of theis Offices, as Conestable, Mareshall, Chancelour, Hegh Tresorer, Chamberlayn, Steward, Admirall, or Lord Privy Seale, there hath been accustomyd, all y^e offecers of Armys to wher their Cottys of y^e Kings armys, and to have their gownes, and hoddys; and five Pounds to bee divided amongst them. *In likewys, yf any Lord of the *parlement* chance to dye duryng the tyme of y^e *parlement*, they to have as affor is sed.
At the burial of a Peer of the Blood Royal,
or one in the high offices, or Parliament,
the Officers of Arms wear their coats-of-arms,
and have 5*l*. between them.
[* leaf 139]

P. 29. Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, says: "No doubt 'his beste' means his crest; and query if it is not a miswriting of the MS for *crest* instead of *beast*. For it would not follow that a man has a beast for his crest: mine is (a beast of) a Bird, and that of Lord Hill 'a Castle,' no beast at all. No doubt, however, beasts, or bits of them, are most common. In olden time (days of *gold* for us) the Heralds arranged all the state funerals. The Lord Chamberlain is an innovation, introduced to manage the *private* funerals of Royalty, as being more under the Sovereign's thumb than the 'Earl Marshal' (an hereditary office) and his Heralds. The Lord Chamberlain has even now only to do with *private* funerals, such as those of the Duchess of Kent, and of 'Albert the Good,' &c. &c. Those of the Dukes of York and Kent, of George III, and IV., William IV., Duke of Wellington, &c., devolved on us."

The definition of an Esquire, and the severall sortes of them according to the Custome and Usage of England.

[*Ashmole MS 837, art. viii. fol. 162.*]

An Esquire, called in latine Armiger, Scutifer, et homo ad arma, is he that in times past was Costrell to a Knight, the bearer of his sheild and helme, a faithfull companion and associate to him in the Warrs, serving on horsebacke; whereof euery knight had twoe at the least [in] attendance upon him, in respect of the fee, For they held their land of the Knight by Cottage, as the Knight held his of the King by Knight service.

At this day, that Vocation is growne to be the first degree of gentry, taken out of the service in the warrs, from whence all the other degrees of nobility are borrowed.

The first sort of them, and the most ancient, are the Eldest sonnes of Knightes, and the eldest sonnes of them successively in infinitum.

The second sort, are the eldest sonnes of the younger sonnes of Barons and noblemen of higher degree, which taketh end, and are determined, when the Cheife Males of such Elder sonnes doe fayle, and that the in-heritance goeth away with the heires female.

The third sort, are those that by the King are Created Esquires by the gift of a collar of SS, or such bearing armes are the principall and cheife of that Coate Armour, and of there wholle race; out of whose familys, although divers other houses doe spring and Issue, yet the Eldest of that Coate armure only is an Esquire, and the residue are but gentlemen.

The fourth and last sort of Esquires, are such, as bearing office in the Commonwealth or in the Kinges house, are therefore called and reputed to be Esquires, as the Sergeants at the law, the Escheators in Euery Shire and in the Kings house, the heralds of armes, the Sergeants at Armes, and the Sergeants of Euery office, who haue the Coller of SS given them, but hauing noe Armes, that degrez dieth with them, and their Issue is not Ennobled thereby.

The good wyfe wold a pylgremage.

[*Porkington MS, No. 10, leaf 135, back, ab. 1460—70 A.D.*]

The good wyf wold a pylgremage vnto þ ^e holly londe :	The good wife
¶ sche sayd, “my dere dozttur, þou most vndor ² -stonde	tells her daughter 4
¶ For to governe well this hous, and saue thy selfe frow schond.	[leaf 136] how to manage her house and herself.
¶ For to do as I þ ^e teche, I charge the þou fonde.	8
¶ Witt an O & a ny, seyd hit ys full 3ore, ¹	
¶ That lothe chylde lore be-howytt, and leve chyld moche more.	12
¶ When I am out of þ ^e toun,	When I'm away,
loke that [thou] be wyse,	
¶ And rene þou not fro hous to house lyke a nantyny gryce ;	don't run about like a St Anthony's Pig, 16
¶ For þ ^e yonge men cheres the, they wyll sey þou art nyce,	
¶ And euery boy wyll wex bold to stere þ ^e to lovd ² wysse.	or every boy will want to seduce you. 20
¶ Witt añ O & a I, my talle þou atende :	
¶ Syldon mossyth the stone pat oftyn ys tornnyd & wende.	24

¹ This line, like many others in the poem, is written in the MS as part of the one above it.

² ? lewd.

Don't show off
to attract men's
notice.

¶ Schowe not thy selfe to proude,
passynge thyn a-stat,
¶ To make men loke aftur þ^e,
and aske, "who ys that?" 28

[leaf 136, back]

¶ A gentyll woman, or' a callot,
men wyll deme thow arte.
¶ Were no nodor' a-ray this weke
þen thow meyst were all gatt. 32
¶ Witt añ O & a I,
men wyll sey þis,
"Be wyne hope men mey se
where þ^e tawerne ys." 36

On holy days,
when you sing
or dance, don't
hang your girdle
too low

¶ Doȝttur, in all company
vppon þ^e hally day,
¶ Wheȝer þou wyll daunce or synge,
or' witt thy fellowys pley, 40
¶ Honge thy gordoff nott to lowe,
but take þ^e knot a-way.
¶ Where no beydis a-bout þe,
but lit fall for' thyn a-rye. 44
¶ Witt añ O & a I,
thus men wyll tell,
¶ "The corsser' hathe his palfrey dyȝt
all reydy for' to sell." 48

Also, hide your
white legs, and
don't show your
stockings
(or drawers)

¶ Doȝttur, seyde þe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
¶ And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt; 52
¶ Thow hit plese hem for' a tym,
hit schaff be thy de-spytt,
¶ And men wyll sey
"of þi body þou carst but lytt." 56

[leaf 137]

like a butcher
the flesh he
wants to sell.

¶ Witt añ O and añ I,
seyd Hit is full ryve,
¶ "The bocher' schewyth feyre his flesche,
for' he wold sell hit full blythe." 60

- ¶ Be þou noþȝt of lowȝttur lyȝt,
nor' of contenance lyȝt ;
- ¶ Ouer homly ys not best,
men may dem Aryȝt. 64
- ¶ Tyk not witt hondis nor' fette,
hit ys not a goodly syȝt ;
- ¶ Schamfast schuld maydons be,
and stronge witt aȝt ther' myȝt. 68
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
þ^e mon ys at þ^e foll,
- ¶ That he wyll lowys scheppis flesche,
That wettytt his bred in woll. 72
- ¶ Take hede to þⁱ byssenis,
& make not out of session ;
- ¶ Syt not witt no man a-loune,
for oft in trust ys tressoun ; 76
- ¶ Thow þou thenk no þenke a-myse,
ȝett feyre wordis be gayssoun ;
- ¶ Feyre and towe I-leyde to-gedore,
kyndoll hit woll, be resson. 80
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
wett ore euer þou wende,
- ¶ A fyre of sponys, and lowe of gromis,
Full soun woll be att a nende. 84
- ¶ Doȝttur, temper well þⁱ tonge,
& vse not monny tallis,
- ¶ For' lessynggis wyll lepe out amonge,
that oftyn brewis ballys. 88
- ¶ Bost not to meche of thy selfe,
but kepe a mese for' allys ;
- ¶ Take not euery roppys-end
witt euery man þat hallis. 92
- ¶ Witt an O & a I,
I wolde þou vnder-stode,
- ¶ A follis bolt ys son I-schot,
and dothe but lyttyll gode. 96

Don't indulge in
light laughter
or looks.

Don't tap (?)
with your
hands or feet.

Don't sit alone
with men :

fire and tow
will kindle.

[leaf 137, back]
Don't talk too
much :

a fol's bolt
is soon shot.

Don't change
friends too often.

- ¶ Change not thy frend aft day
for' no feyre speche ;
¶ A trusty frende ys good I-fonde,
who-so may hyme reche, 100
¶ 3efe anny fortun fast amysse,
then mey he be thy leche ;
¶ 3efe he fynde þ^e in anny wronge,
then meyst þou wyne his wreche. 104
¶ Witt a O & a I,
a flent wol make a slyde ;
¶ So gothe þ^e frendles þorowe þ^e toun,
no man bydyth hym a-byde. 108

Don't swear,

or give pledges
hastily.
[leaf 138]

- ¶ Doȝttur, O þinge I þ^e for'-bede ;
vse not for' to swere ;
¶ keppe thy hondis, & geyfe no trevthe,
for weddynggis bythe in were ; 112
¶ He is a foll þat wyll be bonde
whyll he mey for'-bere.
A lowely lokyng & a porse
makys folls her and þere. 116

Try before you
trust.

- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
a-say or' euer þow trust ;
¶ When dede is down, hit ys to lat ;
be ware of hady-wyst. 120

Don't be fond
of slander,

and keep a
stedfast mind.

- ¶ Loke what woman þou wolt be,
and there-on set thy thowȝt ;
¶ Tallis flatteryng nor' sclandoryng,
loke thowe loue hem nowȝt ; 124
¶ A stydfast wett ys meche I-prevyde ¹ [1 ? approved]
there womens wytt ys sowȝt,
¶ And þer þat wette wanttythe longe,
full dere hit ys I-bowȝt. 128
¶ Witt a O & a I,
men wyll sey so,
¶ "3efe þou þenke to do no syne,
do no þyng þat longythe there-to." 132

- ¶ Yfe þou wylt no hosbonde have,
but where thy maydon croun,
If you want to remain a maid,
- ¶ Ren not a-bout in eueri pley,
nor to tawern in toвне ;
don't gad about to taverns.
136
- ¶ Syt sadly in þin arey ;
let mournynge be þ¹ gown ;
[leaf 138, back]
- ¶ Byd þi priers spessyally
witt good devossyon,
140
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
al day men mey see,
¶ “The tre crokothe son
þat good cambrel ¹ wyll be.”
144
- ¶ Revle þ^e well in met & drenke,
doʒttur, it is nede ;
Don't drink too much or gorge.
- ¶ lechery, sclanderynge, & gret dyssece,
commythe of dronken hede ;
148
- ¶ Fatt mosellis & swett, makyth
mony on to begge there brede ;
- ¶ He þat spendyth more þen he gettythe,
a beggerris lyfe he schaff lede.
Don't spend more than you earn.
152
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
seyd hit ys be southe,
¶ Wynttur ettyþ^e þat somer gettyþ,
to olde men is vnkoth[e].
156
- ¶ Far-well douʒttur, far-weſt nowe !
I go vn-to my pylgremage ;
Farewell,
- ¶ kepe þ^e wel on my blessynge
tyl þou be more of a[ge],
keep to my precepts,
160
- ¶ let no merth ner¹ lollyte
þis lesson frowe þ^e swage ;
- ¶ Then þou schalt have þ^e blys of heyvyn
to thy errytage.
and you shall go to heaven.
164
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
doʒttur, pray for¹ me ;
- ¶ A schort prayer¹ wynnythe heyvyn,
the patter noster and an ave . . . Amen.
168

¹ From *cam*, crooked. Topsell uses *cambril* for the back of a horse (Halliwell).
“We allus gives 'em a little *gamber*, Sir,” said a Cambridge boat-builder to me
in 1844, when I complained that a funny he was making was not on a straight keel.

How þe Goode Wyfe tauȝt hyr Dowȝter, quod Kate.

[Ashmole MS 61, leaf 7.]

Hear how the Good Wife taught her Daughter!	L yst <i>and</i> lythe A lyteſt ſpace, Y ſchaft ȝou telle A praty cace, How þ ^e gode wyfe tauȝht hyr dowȝter To mend hyr lyfe, <i>and</i> make her better. ¹	4
If you want to marry, serve God,	Dowȝter, <i>and</i> þou wyll be A wyfe, Wyſely to wyrche, in Alȝ þ ⁱ lyfe :— Serue god, <i>and</i> kepe thy chyrche, And myche þ ^e better þou ſh[alt] wyrche.	8
and don't let rain ſtop your going to church.	To go to þe chyrch, lette for no reyne, And þat ſchaft helpe þe in thy peyne.	
Pay your tithes,	Gladly loke þou pay thy tythes, Also thy offeringes loke þou not myſſe ; Of pore men be þou not lothe,	12
and feed the poor.	bot gyff þou them both mete <i>and</i> clothe ; And to pore folke be þou not herde, Bot be to them thyn owen ſtoweꝛde ; For where þat A gode ſtoweꝛde is, Wantys ſeldome any rycheſ.	16
In church,	When þou arte in þ ^e chyrch, my chyld, loke þat þou be bothe meke <i>and</i> myld, And bydde þ ⁱ bedes. A-bouen alle thinge, With ſybbe ne fremde make no Iangelynge.	20
pray, and don't chatter.		

¹ The original is not divided into stanzas.

lauzhe þou to scorne noþer olde ne ȝonge ;
 Be of gode berynge *and* of gode tonge ;
 Yn thi gode berynge be-gynnes þⁱ worschype,
 My dere douȝter, of þis take kepe.

Scorn no one,
 24 Good behaviour
 wins honour.

Yf any man profer þee to wede,
 A curtas ansuer to hym be seyde,
 And schew hym to thy frendes alle ;
 For any thing þat may be-fawle,
 Syt not by hym, ne stand þou nouȝt
 Yn sych place þer synne mey be wroȝht.

If a wooer comes,
 28
 show him to
 your friends.

What man þat þee doth wedde with rynge,
 loke þou hym loue A-bouen Alle thinge ;
 Yf þat it forteyne þus with the
 That he be wroth, *and* angry be,
 loke þou mekly ansuere hym,
 And meue hym noþer lyth ne lymme ;
 And þat schafft slake hym of hys mode ;
 Than schafft þou be hys derlynge gode :
 Fayre wordes wreth do slake ;
 Fayre wordes wreth schafft neuer make ;
 Ne fayre wordes brake neuer bone,
 Ne neuer schafft in no wone.

Love your
 husband,
 and if he gets
 angry,
 36
 don't answer
 him.

Be fayre of semblant, my dere douȝter,
 Change not þⁱ countenans with grete lauȝter ;
 And wyse of maneres loke þou be gode,
 Ne for no tayle change þⁱ mode ;

40
 Fair words
 break no bones.
 44

Ne fare not as þou A gyglot were,
 Ne lauȝe þou not low, be þou þer-of sore.
 luke þou also gape not to wyde,
 For Any thing þat may be-tytde (*sic*).

don't be giddy,
 or gape too wide.
 52

Suete of speche, loke þat thow be ;
 Trow in worde *and* dede : lerne þus of me.

Be sweet of
 speech.

- [leaf 7, back] Loke þou fle synne, vilony, *and* blame,¹
 And se þer be no man þat seys the Any schame. 56
- Don't toss your head about, and don't swear. When þou goys in þe gate, go not to faste,
 Ne hyderwerd ne thederward thi hede þou caste.
 No grete othes loke þou suere ;
 By ware, my douzter, of syche A maner ! 60
- Don't go to market Go not as it wer A gase
 Fro house to house, to seke þe mase ;
 Ne go þou not to no merket
 To sell thi thryft ; be wer of itte. 64
- or taverns. Ne go þou nouht to þe tauerne,
 Thy godnes forto selle þer-Inne ;
 For'sake þou hym þat tauerne hanteht,
 And alle þe vices þat þer-Inne bethe. 68
- Don't drink too much. Wher'euer þou comme, at Ale *other*² wyne,
 Take not to myche, *and* leue be tyme ;
 For' mesure þer-Inne, it is no herme,
 And drounke to be, it is þ¹ schame. 72
- Don't go to cock-fights, Ne go þou not to no wrastlynge,
 Ne ȝit to no coke³ schetynge,
 As it wer a str[u]mpet oþer A gyglote,
 Or as A woman þat lyst to dote. 76
- but stay at home. Byde þou at home, my douzter dere ;
 Thes poyntes at me I rede þou lere,
 And wyrke þ¹ werke at nede,
 All þ^e better þou may spede : 80
 Y suere þee, douzter, be heuen kynge,
 Mery it is of Althynges.
- Don't make friends with every man you meet. A-queynte þee not with euer[y] man
 þat Inne þe strete þou metys than, 84

¹ MS blane.² MS o^r.³ MS 'coke fyghtynges'; but 'fyghtynges' has four small dashes under it, as if it were intended to be erased.

- Thof^t he wold be Aqueynted *with* the ;
 Grete hym curtasly, *and* late hym be ;
 loke by hym not longe þou stond,
 That thorow no vylony þ¹ hert fond : 88
 Alle þ^e men be not trew
That fare speche to þee can schew.
 Fair talkers are
 not all true.
- For no couetys, no ȝiftys þou take ;
 Bot þou wyte why, sone them for^{sake} ; 92
 For gode women, *with* ȝyftes
 Me þer honour fro them lyftes,
 Thofe þat þei wer All trew
 As Any stele þat bereth hew ; 96
 For *with* ther³ ȝiftes men þem ouer gone,
 Thof þei wer trew as ony stone ;
 Bounde þei be þat ȝiftys take,
 Ther³-for thes ȝiftes þou for^{sake}. 100
- ¹ Yn oþer mens houses make þou no maystry,
 For drede no vylony to þee be spye.
 loke þou chyd no wordes bolde,
 To myssey noþer ȝonge ne olde ; 104
 For *and* þou any chyder be,
 Thy neyȝbors wylle speke þee vylony.
- ² Be þou not to enuyos,
 For drede thi neyȝbors wyll þee curse : 108
 Enuyos hert hym-selue fretys,
 And of gode werky[s] hym-selue lettys.
- ³ houswyfely wyll þou gone
 On werke deys in thine Awne wone. 112
 Pryde, rest, *and* ydell-schy[pe],⁴
 Fro þes werkes þou the kepe ;

Take no gifts
from men ;

they may lose
you your honour.

Don't make a
fuss in other
people's houses,
and don't chide.

[leaf 8]
Don't be envious.

Work on wor-
days,

¹ See the first stanza (from the Trin. Coll. Camb. MS) in *Babees Book*, p. 42, note.

² This stanza is not in the *Babees-Book* copy.

³ l. 153, *Babees Book*, p. 43.

⁴ a d at end partly blotted out.

- and worship God
on holy days. And kepe þou welle thy holy dey,
And thy god worschype whe[n] þou may, 116
More for' worschype than for' pride;
And styfly in thy feyth þou byde.
- Don't ape ladies
with rich robes. ¹ loke þou were no ryche robys;
Ne counterfyte þou no ladys; 120
For' myche schame do them¹ be-tyde
þat lese þer worschipe thorow þer pride.
- Be a good
housewife, and
gentle. ² Be þou, douȝter, A hous-wyfe gode,
And euer-more of mylde mode. 124
Wysely loke thi hous And men-eȝe;
The beter to do þei schall be.
Women þat be of yueſt name,
Be ȝe not to-gedere in-same; 128
- Get work wanted,
done quickly. loke what moste nede is to done,
And sette þ¹ men[é] þer-to ryȝht sone:
That thinge þat is be-fore done dede,
Redy it is when þou³ hast nede. 132
- When your
husband's away,
set your people
to work. And if thy lord be fro home,
lat not thy men-eȝe I-dell gone;
And loke þou wele who do hys dede,
Quyte hym þer-after to his mede; 136
And þei þat wyll bot lytell do,
Ther'-after þou quite is mede also.
- If you've a heavy
job, go at one end
of it at once. A grete dede if þou haue to done,
At þ^e tone ende þou be ryȝht sone; 140
And if þat þou fynd any fawte,
Amend it sone, and tarrye note:
Mych thyng^e be-houen them¹
þat gode housold schall kepyn. 144
Amend thy hous or þou haue nede,
For' better after þou schalt spede;

¹ See the first stanza of the note, p. 45 of *Babees Book*.² See l. 102, p. 41, *Babees Book*. ³ MS þou thow.

- And if þat thy nede be grete,
 And in þ^e country courne ¹ be stryte,
 Make An hous-wyfe on thy-selue,
 Thy bred þou bake for' hous-wyfys helthe.
 Amonge þⁱ seruantes if þou stondyne,
 Thy werke it schall be soner' done ;
 To helpe them sone þou sterte,
 For' many handes make lyzht werke.
- 148 When need is,
work yourself,
and bake your
own bread.
- 152
- ² By-syde þee if thy neighbores thryue,
 Ther'-fore þou make no stryfe ;
 Bot thanke god of all thi gode
 þat he sende þee to thy fode ;
 And þan thou schall lyue gode lyfe,
 And so to be A gode hous-wyfe.
 At es he lyues þat Awe[s] no dette ;
 Yt is no les, *with-outen* lette.
- 156 Don't grudge
your neighbour's
success, but
thank God for
your own.
- 160
- ³ Syte not to longe vppe At euene,
 For' drede *with* Ale þou be ouer-sene ;
 loke þou go to bede by tyme ;
 Erly to ryse is fysyke fyne.
 And so þou schalle be, my dere chyld,
 Be welle dysposed, both meke *and* myld,
 For' all þer es may þei not haue,
 þat wyll thryue, *and* þer gode saue,
- [leaf 8, back]
- 164
- Go to bed
betimes, and
rise early :
- 168
- you can't take
your ease if
you'll thrive.
- ⁴ And if it þus the be-tyde,
 þat frendes falle þee fro on euery syde,
 And god fro þee thi chyld take ;
 Thy wreke oñe god do þou not take,
- 172 If friends fall
away, or your
child dies, don't
abuse God.

¹ The Lambeth MS 853 in *Babees Book*, p. 41, l. 116, reads
 'tyme.'

² See l. 146, p. 43 of *Babees Book*.

³ See the last stanza in the note, p. 44 of *Babees Book*.

⁴ This stanza is not in the Lambeth or Trin. Coll. Camb.
 MSS in the *Babees Book*.

	For thy-selue it wyll vn-do, And alle thes þat þee longes to : Many one for þer Awne foly Spyllys them-selue vn-thryftyly.	176
	¹ loke, douzter, no thing ⁱ þou lese, Ne þ ⁱ housbond þou not desples.	180
Marry your daughters early :	And if þou haue A douzter of age, Pute here sone to maryage ;	
girls are un- certain things.	Fore meydens, þei be lonely, And no thing ⁱ syker ³ þer-by	184
Don't borrow,	Borow þou not, if þat thou meye, For drede thi neybour wyll sey naye ; Ne take þou nought to fyrste, Bot þou be Inne more bryste. ²	188
or spend other men's money.	Make þee not ryche of oþer mens thyng ⁱ , þe bolder to spend be one ferthyng ⁱ ; Borowyd thinge muste nedes go home, Yf þat þou wyll to heuen gone.	192
Pay servants when their work is done.	³ When þ ⁱ seruantes haue do þer werke, To pay þer hyre loke þou be smerte, Wheþer þei hyde o ^r þei do wende : Thus schaff þou kepe þem euer þ ⁱ frende : And þus thi frendes wyll be glade þat thou dispos þe wyslye and sade.	196
This is what my mother taught me.	Now I haue taught þee, my dere douzter, The same techynge I hade of my modour :	200
Forget it not!	Thinke þer-on both nyght and dey ; For'gette them not if þat þou may ; For A chyld vn-borne wer better Than be vn-taught, þus seys þe letter.	204

¹ See l. 193-201, p. 46 of *Babees Book*.² Corrupt. See l. 181-2, p. 45 of *Babees Book*, and the last stanza in the note.³ See l. 139, p. 43, *Babees Book*.

Ther'-for' aȝ-myȝhty god Inne trone,
Spede vs Alle, bothe euen *and* morne;
And bringe vs to thy hyȝhe blysse,
That neuer more fro vs schaff mysse!

God speed and
save us all!

208

Amen, *quod* Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish (? a jack) and a flower underneath.
A fish is also drawn at bottom of leaf 7, back.]

How a Wyse Man taught his Sone,

quod Kate.

[*Ashmole MS 61, leaf 6.*]

<p>[<i>fond, try.</i>] This Song is to make young men true and stedfast.</p>	<p>Lordynges, <i>and</i> 3e wylle here How A wyse man taught his sone, Take god hede to þis matere, And fynd ¹ to lerne it yff 3e canne. 4</p>
<p>A wyse man had a son of 15,</p>	<p>þis songe for 3onge men was be-gone, To make them trew <i>and</i> stedfaste ; For 3erne þat is euylle spone, Euylle it comes out at þ^e laste. 8</p>
<p>[<i>2 visage.</i>] and taught him thus :</p>	<p>Yt was A wyse man had A chyld Was fully xv wynter of Age, Of maneres he was meke <i>and</i> myld, Gentyll of body <i>and</i> of vsage ² ; 12 By-cause he was his faderes Ayere, His fader þus on þis langage Taught his sone wele <i>and</i> feyre, Gentyll of kynd <i>and</i> of corage, 16</p>
<p>"Go daily first to Mass ;</p>	<p>And seyð, "sone, haue þis word in herte, And thynke þer-on when I ame dede, Euery dey þe fyrst werke, loke it be done in euery stede, 20</p>
<p>then to business ;</p>	<p>Go se þⁱ god in forme of brede, And thanke þⁱ god of his godnesse ; And after-ward, sore, be my rede Go do þⁱ werldes besynesse ; 24</p>

- Bot fyrst worscype god on þe dey,
 And þou wyll haue to þⁱ mede ;
 Skylfully, what þou wyll praye,
 He wylle þe send *with-outen drede*,
 And send þe all þat thou hastⁱ nede.
 Als ferre as mesure wyll destreche,
 luke, mesurly thy lyfe þou lede,
 And of þ^e remynant þer þe not reche.
- And, son, þⁱ tonge þou kepe Al-so,
 ¶ And tell not all thynges þat þou maye,
 For þⁱ tonge may be thy fo ;
 þer-fo^r, my sone, thynke what I sey,
 Where *and* when þat thou schall praye,
 And be whome þat thou seystⁱ owht ;
 For þou may sey A word to-dey,
 That vij ȝere after may be for^t-thought.
- With loue *and* Awe þⁱ wyfe þou chastys,
 And late feyre wordes be þⁱ ȝerdⁱ ;
 For Awe, it is þ^e best gyse
 Forto make þⁱ wyfe Aferdⁱ.
 Sone, þⁱ wyfe þou schall not chyde,
 Ne caule he[r] by no vylons name ;
 For sche þat schall ly by thy syde,
 To calle hyrⁱ wykyd, it is thy schame.
- When þou schaff thy wyfe defame,
 Wele may An oþer man do so ;
 Bot, sofer*e-and*¹, A man may tame
 hert *and* hynd, *and* þe wylde ro.
 Sone, be þou not gelos by no wey,
 For if þou falle in gelosye,
 late not þⁱ wyfe wyte be no weye ;
 For þou mayst do no more folye :
- 28 and your reason-
able prayers will
be granted.
 32
 Hold your tongue.
 36
 7 years hence you
may repent a
hasty word.
 44
 Don't chide or
abuse your wife :
 48
 [leaf 6, back]
 52 Patience 'll
tame wild
animals.
 Don't be jealous,
 56

¹ suffering

for if your wife
sees it,

she 'll pay you
out.

Pay your tithes,
and give to the
poor.

Stand stiff against
the devil.

For if thi wyfe myȝht ons A-spye

þat thou to her wolde not tryste,

Yn spy[t]e of All þⁱ fantysye,

To wreke hyr werst, þat is herre lyste.

60

Sone, vnto þⁱ¹ god pay welle þⁱ tythe,

And pore men of thy gode þou dele.

Ageyn þe deuett be stronge and styfe,

And helpe þⁱ soule fro payne of helle ;

64

Thys werlð is bote fantesye fele,

And dey by dey it wyll A-pare ;

þer-fore be[ware] þe werlðes wele ;

Yt farys as A chery feyre.

68

Men gather goods

Many man here gederes gode

Aff hys lyfe tyme for odour mene,

þat he may not—be the rode—

Not A² tyme to ete A hene.

72

for another, when
they die,

When he is doluen in his den,

An oper schall comme at þ^e last ende,

And haue hys wyfe and catell than ;

to spend.

þat he has sparyd, An oper wyth spende.

76

For aff þat euer A man doth here

With bysenes and trauell bothe

All þis is, with-uten were,

Not bot for mete and drynke and clothe ;

80

Men can but get
food and clothes,

More getes he not, with-uten hothe :

Kyngⁱ ne prince, wheþer he be,

Be he lefe o^r be he lothe,

be they poor
or rich ;

A pore man schall haue als mych as he.

84

þer-for, sone, be my counselle,

More þan I-nowȝhe þou neuer couete ;

therefore don't
covet more than
enough,

Thou wotyste not when deth wyll þee A-saylle ;

þis werlð is bot deth and debate.

88

loke þou be not to hyȝe of state,

By ryches here sette þou no price,

For þis werlde is full of deseyt ;

Ther-for purchasse¹ paradyce ;

92

For deth, my chyld, is, as Y trow,

The most ryȝht serteyn [thing] it is ;

for nothing is so
certain as Death,

No thing^t so vn-serteyne to vn-know

As is þe tyme of deth I-wys ;

tho' its time is
uncertain.

96

And þer-for, soñe, thinke oñe thys,

And all þat I haue seyð be-forne ;

And Ihesu brynge vs to his blysse,

Jesu, save us !”

The chyld þat w[as] in bedleme borne.

100

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish underneath.]

¹ MS Ther purchasse for

Stans puer ad mensam,¹

quod Kate.

(According to Grostete and Doctor Palere, 1463-83 A.D.)

[*Ashmole MS 61, leaf 17, back*]

Christ,	I hesus cryste, þat dyed vpon A tree To bye mans saule þat ons was for ^r -lorn, Helpe þem wele in All þer degre That doth euer ryght be-hynd <i>and</i> be-form!	4
give us grace	And gyffe me <i>grace</i> þat I may so teche That some man þer-for ^r þ ^e better maye be,	
to teach children to flee vice!	And to be to chylder ^r A bodely leche, And euer-more Alle vices þei may fere <i>and</i> Fle!	8
To teach them courtesy is my intent.	To teche chylder <i>curtasy</i> is myne entent, And þus forth my proces I purpos to be-gynne; The trinyte me sped, <i>and</i> gode seynt clement, Yn what countrey þat euer y be Inne!	12
	The child þat euer thinkes þat he wold thryue o ^r the, My counsell in þis to hym þat he take; And euer-more <i>curtayse</i> luke þat he be, And euer all evylle vices to fle <i>and</i> for ^r -sake.	16
Courtesy is sure to pay.	The child þat is <i>curtas</i> , be he pore or ryche, Yt schall hym A-vaylle, þer-off ^r haue no drede, And euer to hym-selue forto be A leche, When he is in <i>quarel</i> or Any oþer nede.	20

¹ There is no title in the MS.

- And iff¹ he be *vicius*, *and* no thing¹ wiþt lerne, A vicious child
 [.]
 To fader *and* to modour be statly *and* sterne, 23 never thrives ;
 He may neuer thryffe well, fore no thing¹ þat he canne.
- Ne no man off hym reiosynge wiþt haue, no one likes him ;
 Yn what lond of crysdome þat he commys Inne, and he gets called
 Bot oft-tymes rebukyd, *and* be callyd knaue, knave ;
 Ne neuer is Abult worschippe to wyne. 28
- Ther²-for¹ þis scryptour, my sone, iff¹ þou rede, therefore
 And thinke in þ¹ selue þat þou wold¹ be a man),
 Vn-to syche poyntes I rede þou take hede attend to me.
 As þou schall here-after rede iff¹ þou canne. 32
- And labour thi-selue while þou arte zonge, Work while you're
 For þou schaff be more *perfyte*, when þou arte of Age, young,
 To helpe þ¹ selue þ^c better wiþ hond *and* wiþ tonge and learn to help
 Than he þat lernes no thing¹ bot to pley *and* rage : yourself. 36
- The sothe treuly thi-selue þou may see
 By experience, by many in þe werld.
 þat Are vnthrifti, ne no tyme wiþt the,
 How þei¹ be trobyles, *and* oft-tymes ille horlde. 40
- Ther²-for¹ þis doctrine to þee² I rede þou take,
 To occupy *and* vse bothe by dey *and* nyght ;
 Neuer no maystry I rede þat thou make, Never act against
 þe which be *contrary* A-zen reson *and* ryght. reason and right. 44
- Now chyld, take gode hede what þat I wyll sey ;
 My doctryne to þee I purpos to be-gyne ; Hearken to my
 Herkyn well þer-to, *and* go not Away teaching ! 47
- Goddess grace be wiþ vs now *and* euer-more. Amen !

My dere child, fyrst þ¹ selue þou vn-Abulle
 With all þ¹ herte to vertuous disciplyne,—
 Afore þ¹ soueryn, standyng¹ at þ^c tabulle—
 Dispos þ¹ zouth After my doctryne, Before your
master, 52

¹ MS þ¹, the same as for 'thy.' ² MS þ^c, the same as for 'the.'

- [leaf 18] To All nurtour þⁱ currage þou enclyne.
 don't speak reck- Fyrst, when þou spekys, luke þou be not rekles,
 lessly; Be-hold to þⁱ souereyn in þ^e face with they eyene,
 and don't fidget. Kepe fete *and* fyngers *and* hondes styff in pese. 56
- Don't stare about, Be simplyff of chere, caste not þⁱ luke offⁱ syde,
 Gase not A-boute, turnyng^t thy hede ouer Alle;
 or stick your back Ageyn the post luke not þⁱ bake A-byde;
 to a post. Make not þ^e myrrour Also offⁱ þ^e walle; 60
- Don't pick your Pyke not þⁱ nose All-so in espeealle,
 nose, Be ryght wele wer, *and* sette þer-vn þⁱ thougth,
 or scratch Crache not þⁱ fleche for ougth þat may be-falle, 63
 yourself. Hede *and* hond, ne oþer thinge þat is vpon þee wrought.
- Don't look on the To þe erth þou luke not when Any man spekes to þee,
 ground when a Bot be-hold vn-to his face; take gode tente þer-to.
 man speaks to you. Go pesably by þ^e wey, wer-so-euer it be, 67
 That no man vex þee in Iorney wer þou schalle gone.
 Change not þⁱ colour by no maner wyse,
 les þou be prouyd gylty in All þⁱ mysdede;
 Mock no one. Moke not, ne scorne not, noþer man ne wyfe,
 Ne no noþer person; þer-to þou take gode hede. 72
- Wash your hands Ete þou not mete with þⁱ vn-wasche hondes,
 before eating. For^t dred of mych¹ hurte þat may come þer-bye;
 Don't sit till Ne syte not vn-byden wer-so-euer þou stondes,
 you're told. lesse þ^e pepyff sey þou canne no curtasye. 76
 Take A-boffe þee thi better whe[n] þou schaff sytte,
 Els folke wyff sey þat thou canne no gode.
- When grace is Take þou no mete (be welle wer offⁱ itte)
 said, doff your Vnto grace be seyð, *and* þer-to veylle þⁱ hode. 80
 hood.
- Don't eat too When þou etys þⁱ mete, be not to hasty,
 hastily. (Be well wer þer-of) be it befe o^r moton,
 Or Any oþer metys, oþer pye or pastye,
 leste þou be callyd els both cherle or gloton. 84

¹ MS nych.

When þou has done *with* A dysch, calle it not A-geyn), Don't ask for a
For þat is no *curtassy* ; þer-offe þou take gode hede. dish twice.

What-so-euer þou be *seruyd*, loke þou be feyn),
For els þou may want it when þou hast nede. 88

Reuyle þou no *metes*, what-so-euer it be, Don't abuse the
Yff þou *purpos* After-ward of it forto ete ; food you're going
to eat.

Fro Alle sych *vncurtasnes* I rede þat þou fle ;
And euer to be *curtas*, þi hert þer-in þou sette. 92

Kepe þi spone cle[ne] from All maner of fylthe ; Keep your spoon
longe In thi dysch late it not A-byde. clean.

Be wer wele þer-of, þat þou no thyngi spyllleth, Spill nothing.
That þei do not moke þee þat standes þe be-syde. 96

luke þi hondes be clene when þou etys þi mete ; Have clean hands.

Pare clene þi nayles for' ought þat may be,
Make þem chere *curtasly* þat by the do sytte, Make yourself
And kepe wele þi coun[te]nans, for' þat is *curtasy*. 100 agreeable.

Dele not þi mete A-wey, bot if þou haue leue, Don't give away
Yff þou sytte *with* Any man þat may be þi better, your food, except
by leue,

For' els þou may þer-for' haue A grete repreue :
þus seys *grossum caput*, in doctrine of letter. 104 says Grostete.

When þou etys þi mete, take gode hede of þis [leaf 18, back]

Yn þe o syde of thi mouthe ete þou thi mete, Fill only one
That both þin chekys be not full at ons, cheek at a time,

For' þat is no *curtassy*, and so þou schall fynde itte.
When mete is in thi mo[u]th, lauzhe þou ryght nought, and don't speak
Ne speke þou to no man in syche tyme, when your
mouth's full.

For' drede þat thy mete oute offi þi mouth be brouzht,
And lepe Inne þi dyssche *with* Ale o' *with* wyne. 112

kytte þou no mete—þer-offe take þou gode tente— Empty your
When mete is on þi trenchere vn-eten) some dele. trencher before
taking a second
help.

Ne moke þou no man þat at þe bord is lente, 115

For' drede þat mysfortune sone After may þee spyлле.

Yf þat þou wyllt offi *nourtyre*, my sone, be-fore,
Sette þou no dysche neuer oñe þi trenchere.

Make no noise
when you sup
your broth.

Wipe your mouth
when you drink.

When þou sowpys þⁱ potage—be wele wer offⁱ þis—

Make no grete sownð in suppyng of þⁱ dysche ; 120

And wype wele þⁱ mōwth when þou drynke schalle take,

Ne no thyngⁱ hafe þer-Inne þat may do A-mysse ;

For iffⁱ Any mete þⁱ mowth be with-Inne,

When þou schuld^d drynke of coppe or offⁱ canne, 124

Sum wyll drinke, be it thyke or thynne,—

Than schaff^t þou be mokyd both offⁱ wyffⁱ and man).

Don't spit over
the table ;
[1 P MS spytte.]

When þou syttes at þ^e tabull, þis is curtasy,

Ouer þⁱ tabull luke þou not spytte,¹ 128

les[t] it falle on mete þat stondes þee by,

For þat is A cherles dede, who so doth it.

or pick your teeth
till you've done.

Pyke not þⁱ tethe—þer-offⁱ be þou were—

Tyff^t þat thow haue etyne All þat thow wylle, 132

Ne noy not þⁱ felew—offⁱ þat loke þou spere—

Drynke salt ne potage, þer-offⁱ none þou sp[i]lle.

Blow not in þⁱ dyssche, be it mete or drynke,

For þat is no curtasy, þer-offⁱ take þou tente ; 136

Ne when þou Arte at Any mete, noþer slepe ne wynke :

For mokyng of pepull where þat þou arte lente.

Keep your nose
clean, and don't
forswear your-
self.

Kepe clene þⁱ nose with napkyn and clote,

That no fylthe be sene þat schuld þee dyshonour. 140

Ne swere þou to no man A for^s-suorne othe,

For þat schaff^t be repreue, and to þee non honour.

At meals, don't
play with a dog
or cat.

Pley þou not with A dogge ne ȝit with A cate

Be-fore þⁱ better at þ^e tabull, ne be syde ; 144

For it is no curtasy—be þou sure of þat—

In what place of crystendome þat þou dwelle o^r byde.

Don't dip your
meat in the salt-
cellar.

When þou etys þⁱ mete,—of þis þou take hede—

Touche not þ^e salte beyngⁱ in þⁱ salt-salerⁱ, 148

Ne with flesch ne fyssche with oþer mete ne brede,

For þat is no curtassy : so seys doctour palerⁱ.

That's not
courtesy, says
Dr Paler.

ley salt on þⁱ trenchere with knyfe þat be clene ;

Not to myche, be þou were, for þat is not gode, 152

- That all maner of *curtassy* of þee may be sene ;
 And euer to þⁱ better luke þou A-veylle þⁱ hode.
 Yff þou wasche with A better mane than þⁱ selfe Arte, [leaf 19]
 Spytt^t not on thy hondes—þer-of take gode hede— Don't spit on
 And be þou not to crueH, at no tyme ouer perte ; 157 your hands, or be
 The better þou schaff lyke when þou hast nede. too pert.
- Preeys not to hye where þⁱ better is, Don't press up too
 Bot stond lawly on þⁱ fete be-fore thi hey tabulle ; 160 high at table.
 And loke þou be seruys-AbuH at euery mese
 And Iangelle not to moch for' makynge off' A fabulle. Don't chatter too
 Take hede of one thing' þat I wyH þe seye, much,
 For' it is gret *curtasy*, and schaff to þee A-veyle : 164
 Out off' no mans mouth—for' bere it if þou may— or take a tale out
 To take Any comenyng o^r 3it Any tale. of a man's
 mouth.
- Com not to counseH bot ifⁱ þou be callyd, [1 MS it.]
 For' dred' of repreue, wer as euer þou gos ; 168
 Ne neuer moke non old man, thofe he be old,
 For' sych vn-*curtasy* may cause þee to haue foyes.² Don't mock old
 When þou hast dyned, be redy taryse men.
 Some-what or þⁱ beter, for' þat is *curtasy* ; [2 foes.] 172
 And els þⁱ souerand he wyH þee dyspise,
 And think' þat þou arte prowd, and bere þi-selue to hy.
- Crombys A-boute þⁱ trencher', luke þat þou leue none, Clean crumbs off
 Bot clens þem A-wey with þⁱ knyfe þat be clene. 176 your trencher
 Obeyesens þou make o^r þou ferther' gone, with your knife.
 That alle þat sytes at þ^e tabull þⁱ *curtasy* may sene. Bow to all before
 Yff þou haue A fader þat be of lyfe here, you leave.
 Honour hym with wyschype,—my counsell I þee Honour your
 And also þⁱ modour þat is thi faderes fere. [gyffe,— and mother.
 And euer-more after þ^e better þou schaff fare ;
- And iffe þou rebukes þem oþer in word o^r dede, If you set not by
 And to be presumptos, and set þem not bye, 184 them,
 þou schall neuer thryue when þat þou hast nede, you shall never
 Ne 3it kepe þ^e statutes off' þⁱ *curtasye*. thrive.

Don't put your
elbows too far on
the table,

Thy elbow *and* armys haue in thi thouzt ;
To fere on þⁱ tabulle do them not ley. 188
To mych mete at onsⁱ in þⁱ mouth be not brouzt,
For than þou art not curtas, þⁱ better wyll seye.

or wear laced
sleeves.

Kepe wele þⁱ sleuys for touchyngⁱ offⁱ mete,
Ne no longe sleuys lasyd ¹ luke þat þou haue. 192
Kepe wele þⁱ k[n]yufe for castyngⁱ vnder fete ;
The more lawde of peple I wote þou schaff haue.

Keep your better
on your right
hand ;

Euer on þⁱ ryght hond take þou thy betterⁱ,
Where þat euer þou go, be wey o^r by strete. 196
And iff þou se Any man be redyng of A letter,
Come not to nyze hym, for dred^e of rehetē.

¹ The mention of these laced sleeves fixes the date of this poem to Edward IV.'s reign, 1461-83. See drawings of the laced sleeves on the left-hand figure on p. 154, and the right-hand one on p. 159, of Fairholt's *History of Costume in England*. The former, of 'a dandy of the period,' is copied from a curious painting which formerly existed on the walls of the Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral, but which is now destroyed : it has been engraved in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments." . . His sleeves are large, and open at the sides, to display the shirt beneath, which is loose, and projects from between the *lacings* of the opening. In some instances we find the sleeves slit immediately above and beneath the elbow, with a narrow piece of cloth to cover it, the whole being held together by wide *lacing*, leaving some inches' space between each portion of the sleeve, which is padded at the shoulders with wadding, to give a broad appearance to the chest : these sleeves [that is, 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.'] were, by a law of the third year of Edward [the Fourth]'s reign [A.D. 1463] prohibited to be worn by any yeoman or person under that degree, under a penalty of six and eightpence, and 20s. fine for the tailor who manufactured them.—*Fairholt*, p. 154-5. The Statute of Edw. IV. says : "And also he [the King] hath ordained and stablished, That no Yeoman, nor none other Person under the same Degree, from the said Feast of Saint Peter called *ad vincula*, which shall be in the Year of our Lord MCCCCxv. shall use nor wear in Array for his Body, any Bolsters nor stuffing of Wool, Cotton, nor Cadas, nor any stuffing in his Doublet, but only Lining according to the same ; upon Pain to forfeit to the King's Use for every such Default Six Shillings and Eight-Pence. Also our said Sovereign Lord the King, by the Advice and assent aforesaid, hath ordained and established, That no Knight under the Estate of a Lord, Esquire, Gentleman, nor none other person, shall use or wear from the Feast of All Saints, which shall be in the Year of our Lord MCCCCxv. any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, unless it be of such Length that the same may cover his privy Members and Buttocks ; upon Pain to forfeit to the King for every default Twenty Shillings. Also by the Assent aforesaid it is ordained, That no Taylor after the said Feast shall make to any Person, any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, of less Length, or Doublet stuffed, contrary to the Premises, upon the same Pain for every Default."—3 Edw. IV. cap. 5. A.D. 1463.

And iff þou go *with* Any man In felde oʳ in towne, give the wall side
to all you meet,
Be wall oʳ by hege, by pales oʳ by pale, 200

To go *with*-oute hym luke þou be bowne,
And take hym by-twix þee *and* þat same walle ;
And if þou mete hym, luke þou be sure
þat thou go *with*-oute hym, *and* leue hym nexte þe
walle. 204

And iff 3e schuld entere in at Any dore,
Puttʳ be-fore þee þʳ better, forʳ ou3te þat may be-falle. and let your
better enter first.

Stare not on A strange man to mych, be þou ware, [leaf 19, back]
Forʳ þat is no *curtassy*, þer-to þou take gode hede ; 208 Don't stare too
hard at strangers,
Ne speke not to mych,—þus seys doctour paler,— or talk too much,
says Dr Paler.
Bot iffʳ it be in þʳ pater noster, þʳ Aue *and* þʳ crede.

And þou passe be-fore A man, wer-so-euer it be,
At fyre oʳ in oþer place, luke þou aske leue ; 212
And euer thinke on worschype *and* thy oneste,
And kepe þee euer fro rebuke *and* All maner repreue

And if þat it fortен so by nyght oʳ Any tyme Let your better
choose which side
of the bed he'll
lie on ;
That þou schaff lye *with* Any man þat is better þan
thou, 216

Spyre hym what syde ofʳ þʳ beddʳ þat mostʳ best wyff
ples hym,
And lye þou onʳ þʳ toþer syde, forʳ þat is forʳ þʳ
prow ;

Ne go þou not to bede before bot þʳ better cause þe, don't go to bed
first, till he asks
you to,
(says Dr Paler,)
and first pull off
his hose, shoes,
&c.
Forʳ þat is no *curtasy*, þus seys doctour palerʳ. 220
Hose *and* schone to powle offʳ, loke þou redy be,
And oþer gere þat to hym langes, forʳ þou may fare þʳ
better.

And when þou arte in þʳ bed, þʳ is *curtasy*, 223 When you're both
in bed, lie
straight,
Stryght downe þat þou lye both *with* fote *and* hond.
When 3e haue talkyd what 3e wyff, byd hym gode
nyght in hye, and say 'Good
night' when
you've done your
chat.
Forʳ þat is gret *curtasy*, so schaff þou vnderstond.

Next morning,
wish your fellow
'Good morrow'
tho' he's asleep.

Yf þou ryse be-fore At morow, take gode hede of þis,
Byd̃ hym gode morow oʀ þou go, thof þat he be on
slepe ; 228

Ne do no thinge in þat hous þat schuld be A-mysse,
Bot euer-more aʃt curtesy I rede to þee þou kepe.

Anopur thing at þi table, for soth I wyʃt þee telle,
That is gret curtesy,—þus seys doctour paler,— 232

Don't put your
knife in your
mouth, says
Dr Paler,

On þi tabulle kepe þi k[nyf]¹—luke þou befelle—
When þou putes mete in þi mouthe, for þat is þi be-
hauour.

or speak to your
better, when he is
drinking.

And if þou be in Any place wer þi better is drynkyng,
So þat þe coppe be at his hede, odour with Ale or wyne,
Doctour paler seys þee þus, and byddes þee sey no-
thing, 237

For brekyng of þi curtesy in syche A curtas tyme.

When your lord
washes, don't
forget his basin
and towel.

And if þou be in Any plas wer þi souerand schall
wessche,

luke þou be redy Anon with water in some vesseʃt, 240

For-geete not þe towell, noþer for hard ne nessche,

For þat is grete curtesy, þe soth I do þee telle.

Off̃ All maner of thinges, one I wyʃe þee schew :

Never defile your
mouth with
ribaldry.

Neuer with Any rebaudry do not fyle þi mouthe, 244

For þat is no curtesy ; þou schall fynde it trew,

Wher þou go, est or weste, oþer north oʀ southe.

If your lord want
to drink at night,

And if þin souereyn drinkyng be in þe tyme of nyght,

Yf þou be standing in þi hous, oʀ sytyng in Any syde,

hold a candell for
him till he has
done.

Take A candell in þi hond Anon, and hold hym lyght ;

To he haue drownkyn what he wyʃt, styʃt by hym þou
byde. 250

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a sketch of a flower underneath, and a fish at the
bottom of leaf 18, back.]

¹ blotted out.

The Abce of Aristotill.

[*Harl. MS 1304, leaf 103 ; ab. 1450 A.D.*]

Wo-so wil be wise, And worshiþe desireth,
 Lett hym¹ lerne on¹ letter, And loke on¹ A-noper
 Of Abce of Aristotill: non¹ Argument Ageyn¹ þat :
 And it is cowncell to clerkis & knyght's a thousand¹ ; 4
 Yutt it myte A man¹ Amend¹ ful ofte,
 The lernynge of on¹ letter, And his lif safe.
 Blame not Beerne þat the Abce made,
 But the wikkid¹ will And the werke After ; 8
 For it shaft greve A good man, þow guilty be mendyd,
 Now herkeneth And hereth how þat I begynne :

Attemperance in Alle thyng, Afte-myghty god loueth ;
 Better¹ bowe þan breke ; obey to þⁱ bettere ; 12
 Care for þⁱ Conscience, & kepe it ai clene ;
 Dred god, And do well ; þan nede þ^e not Dowte ;
 Ese þine euen¹ cristen¹ ; euer thynke on¹ þⁱne ende ;
 Fle falsnes And foli ; And for thi feith fight ; 16
 Gete god þⁱ gouvernour, And grace shaft the grete ;
 Halow þⁱ holi day, And heuen¹ I the hote,
 In Ioye with owre Iustice, Ihesu so gentill.
 Kyng, keyser, And knyght, are knytte for to ke[pe] 20
 Lawes of owre lord god : bothe lewid And lerid,
 Mangnifie his mageste þat most is of myght.
 Norshe nott þⁱ nature to nyceli for no thyng ;

¹ MS men man.

On god Allonli euer haue in þⁱ thought ; 24
 Preise prestis And prechours þat pray for the people ; [leaf 103 b.]
 Quenche fals querelour ; þ^e quēde of heven þ^e wiht quite ;
 Rewle wel þⁱ Regalli, as right is And Reson ;
 See to thi sogettis, and sei þemⁱ hure sothes ; 28
 Temper hure tongis fro tellynge of talis ;
 Voide vices ; vertues shaft vaunce vs all :
 þus Rede we in bokys And Rollis A-bowte.

Thus god þat is begynnere & former of alle thyng, 32
 In nombre, weyght, & mesure, alle þis world wrought he ;
 And mesure he taughte us in alle his wise werkis,
 Ensample by the extremittees þat vicious Arn Euer.
 A Coward, And Contacowre, manhod is þ^e mene ; 36
 A wrecche, And wastour, mesure is be-twene ;
 For to moche of on¹ thyng was neuer holsome.

Be not to Amerows, to Auenturous, ne Angur not to ofte ;
 Be not to bolde, to besi, ne bowrde not to brode ;
 Be not to cursed, to crueht,² And care not to sore ;
 Be not to Dufte, ne to Dredful, & Drink not to moche ; 4
 Be not to elenge, to Excellent, ne to erneful noþer ;
 Be not to fers, to familiary, but frendli of chere ;
 Be not to Glosynge, ne to gelous, gay, & gape not to wide ;
 Be not to hasti, to hardi, ne to heuy in harte, 8
 Be not to Iettyng, to Iangelynge, ne Iape not to ofte ;
 Be not to kynde, to kepyng, & ware knaues tacches ;
³ Be not to lothe, to lovyng, ne to liberall of goodys ;
 Be not to mellous, to meri, but as mene askith ; 12
 Be not to noyows, to nyce, ne to newfangle ;
 Be not to orped, to overthwarte, & opus⁴ þou hate ;
 Be not to pressing, ne to preuy with princes ne with Dukys ;

¹ MS onⁱ onⁱ.

² ? MS couht.

³ These lines to the end are in a later hand, Peter Le Neve's. He has written in the margin : 'M^d this was on the other leafe, but I took it out & writt it here. Peter Le Neve 1695.'

⁴ MS first written 'opus.'

Be not to queynte, to querellous; queme¹ wiȝt y^e maystri; 16
 Be not to Riatous, to revelling, ne rage not to ofte;
 Be not to sadde, to sorry, ne sight not to deep;
 Be not to toyllous, to talewise, for temperance it hatyȝt;
 Be not to venomous, to vengeable, ne wast not to moche; 20
 for a mesurable mene is best for vs alle. Explicit.

¹ MS ? querne.

The MS, Harl. 1304, up to leaf 99, contains Lydgate's *Life of the Virgin Mary*. Leaf 100 begins the "*Questiones by-twene the Maister of Oxenford and his Clerke*"; and leaf 103 contains the *Abce* above, and finishes the MS.

Proverbs of Good Counsel.

[Harl. MS 2252, leaf 3.]

PROVERBUS.

Be charitable to the needy ;	At owur begynny[n]ge, god be owur spede In grace & vertue to prosede ! Be petuus & eke merciabyH ; To nedy folke be CherytabyH.	4
	A man with-owte mercy, of mercye shall mys ; & he shaH haue mercy þat mercifuH ys. By mercye & mekenes all thyng chevythe, by folý & hate, aH wysdom ¹ Remevythe.	
	The beste wysdom þat I Can, ys to doe weH, & drede no man.	
	He þat yn yowþ ^e no vertue wyll vse, In Age aH honour wyH hym Refuse.	
do well, and fear no man.	Spend no manus good in vayne, For borowurd thyng wyll home Agayne.	12
	gyve thow trewe weyghþe, mete, & measure, And then shall grace with the Indure.	
Give true weight.	Be not to bold for to blame, leste þou be found in the same ; And yff on party wold fayne be Awreke,	16
	yet man of Ryghte here þ ^e toþer party speke.	
Hear both sides.	over þ ⁱ hed loke thowe never hewe ; povert hathe but frendis fewe.	20

¹ This *m̃* is generally used for the old *mer* ; but here it is used for a curly-tailed *m*, and the mark of contraction has no value, I think.

- Whoo-so of welthe takythe no hede,
 he shall fynde fawte In tyme of nede. 24
þis world ys mvtabyȝ, so saythe sage,
þerfor gader or thow fall in Age.
 Kepe not *þi* tresure aye Closyd in mew ;
 suche old^r tresure wyll *þe* shame ynowe. 28
 whate *prophytis* plente & grete tresure,
 & in poverte A wreche Alway to endure ?
 Man, sobyrly *þi* howse begyn,
 & spende nomore then *þou* mayste wyn, 32
 for A nyse wyfe, & A backe dore,
 Makyth oftyn tymus A ryche man pore.
 Wysdom stondyth not all by speche ;
 A wylfull shrew can noman teche. 36
 he hathe wysdom at hys wyll
þat can with Angry harte be styll.
¹lett never *þi* wyȝ *þi* wytt over-lede ;
 whate man *þou* serue, Alway hym drede, 40
 and hys good as *þine* Awne spare ;
 be lowly & seruysabyȝ, & love hys welfare.
 And yf *þou* wylte be owt of sorow & care,
 hyt ys to kepe & Refrayne *þi* Tonge, 44
 for *þis* lernyth Chyldren when they be yonge.
 [.]
²& ever in welth be ware of woo,
 Son, yf *þou* wyste whate thyng hyt were, 48
 Connyng to lerne, & with *þe* to bere,
 Thow wold not myspend on howre ;
 for of all Tresure, Conny[n]ge ys flowur.
 yf *þou* wylte leve in peas & Reste, 52
 here, & see, & sey the beste.
 where ever *þou* be, in bowur or haȝ,
 be mery, honeste, & lyberaȝ.
 Beware, my son, ever of ‘ had-I-wyste ’ ; 56

Earn money in
your youth,

but don't be a
miser

A foolish wife and
a back door pooren
a man.

Be true and
humble to your
master.

Bridle your
tongue.

Misspend not
an hour.
Get Knowledge,
the flower of all
treasures.

Be merry and
liberal.

¹ This line is put two lower in the MS.

² This line is put one lower in the MS.

	hard ys to know whom on may tryst[e] ; A tr[u]sty frende ys hard to fynde, none ys more foo þen on vakynd[e].	
Don't be too anxious about anything.	Care not to myche for ony thyng, Thowghte wyll þ ^e sone to erþ ^e brynge. serve god weH, & haue no drede, he wyll þ ^e helpe in tyme of nede ; drede owur lord god boþ ^e nyght & day,	60 64
Don't swear.	Swere none othys in ernyste or pley ; for who so dothe,—scripture sayth soo,— þ ^e plage from hys howse shaH not go.	
Pray to God every dawn.	Erly in the dawy[n]ge of þ ^e day, my son, to god loke þat þou praye ; & ever haue in þ ⁱ memory for to seke hevyn moste besyly.	68
Choose good companions :	Acompany with them þat be oneste, and they wyll reporte of þ ^e þ ^e beste, As for þis proverbe dothe specify,	72
" Like will to like."	" lyke wyll to lyke in eche company." grace & good maners makyþ ^e A man ; woo may he be þat no good Can !	76
Virtue and Knowledge are better than Riches. Don't be moody.	Better ys to have vertu & Connyng, þan to be lewde with Ryches of A kyng. hevy of þ ⁱ herte loke þou not be ; let honeste Company Comfort the. yf þou be trobyllyd with ynconvenyens, arme þ ^e alway with Inward pacyens ;	80
Associate with the wise.	Invre þ ^e with them þat byn wyse, then to Ryches thou shalt Aryse.	84

How to rule one's Self and one's House.

[*Harl. MS 787*,¹ leaf 9.]

Temperance.

- 1 Be humble in thyne owne sight.
- 2 Mistrust thyne owne judgment.
- 3 Be in gesture & behauour comely;
- 4 In Apparell, neyther curious nor costly.
- 5 Thinke nothing uncomly which is honest, for nothing is comely that is not honest.
- 6 Be temperate in dyett.
- 7 Be moderate & honest in Expences.
- 8 Be neuer idle, but euer well busied.
- 9 Remember how precious a thing tyme is, & spend it thereafter.
- 10 Liue within thy compass.
- 11 Exceed in nothinge.
- 12 Be spare of wordes.
- 13 In serious things, thinke first, and speake after.
- 14 Speake well of all, euill of none.
- 15 Speak neuer uainly.
- 16 Speake neuer untruly.

Domus.

Seeke thy wife for uertue onely.
 Seeke noe Match aboue thy degree.
 Liue together in *the* feare of God.
 Loue, & liue with her in peace.
 Bring up thy children in uertuous callinge;
 Teach *them* to knowe & feare God;
 Keep them in due obedyence;
 Nourish *them* not in delicacye.
 Gouverne thy House in order, for in disorder noe House may stand.
 Prouide before hand, & order thy Expences: so shall thy House continue.
 Keep hospitallity amonge thy Neighbours, but neuer aboue thy power.
 Spare in tyme, & spend in tyme.

¹ The MS has a late title: "Seuerall papers found in Mr Dells Study, Secretary to Bishop Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury." 1601 is the latest date I see in the volume.

Good Advice to a Gouvernour.

[Harl. MS 787, leaf 123, back.]

1. Take not all *that* you can gett, nor doe all *that* you may. For there is noe greater danger to a Noble man, then to let slippe *the* Raines of his lust, & not to restraints them with *the* stronge Bitt of Reason.

2. Let noe Ambicion entangle *your* mynde, for her nature is to ouerthrow her self. Let all untruth be farre from you, *that* your thoughts be not able to accuse *your* Conscience. Soe use *your* Riches as they be receyued into *your* House, but not into *your* heart; for where Couetousness raigneth, there noe other uice is longe absent.

3. Beware *that* in all things which concerne your Honour, Person, & Substance, you put not fortune in trust. For he *that* is wise will neuer hazard *that* danger, wening to haue remedy at her handes.

4. In strange affaires goe not too nigh *the* bottome; and in your owne, doe not streyne or enforce tymes. For, demeaning you soe, you may remaine as you now be, or else you may happe to remember what you were.

5. The danger of Noblemen is, *that* they can not descend, but fall. To the defence whereof nature ordeyneth *the* best Freinds. Therefore perseuere in amity with such as will rather stay you from falling, then sett to theyr hands to helpe you up.

6. Be more carefull of Conscience then of Honour, & doe well till you can noe more; but neuer doe euill, though you may.

7. Let not crueltie, but mercy & pittie ouercome you. For *the* tears & Complaints of *the* wronged will come to Gods presence for your Correccion, & to *the* Princes eares for your discreditt.

8. In *the* Offices *that* you bestowe, haue rather before *your* Eyes *the* worthy then *your* Freinds. For, amonge *your* Freinds, depart *your* Goods, but not *your* Conscience.

9. In *that* you counsell, be not affeccionate: in *that* you discoursell, be not passionate: in *that* you commande, be not absolute. In whatsoever you doe, be neyther hasty nor disaduised; for *the* faults be yours, but *the* Iudgment is *the* worlds. And *the* greater *the* man is, *the* more is he noted.

10. If you will not swerue in your Counsell, nor stumble in your Actes, nor fall from *that* you haue, then fauour him *that* telleth you *the* truth, yea, though it be unpleasing; & abhorre him *that* telleth you any untruth, seem it neuer soe pleasant. For you ought rather to loue him *that* aduiseth you now, then those *that* will make semblance to pittie you hereafter.

Finis.

Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen,

A.D. 1577.

[*Lansdowne MS 98, art. 2, leaf 8: follows Queene Elizabethes
Achademy.*]

Aduertisementes and counsailes verie necessarye for all noble men
and counsaillors gathered owt of Divers Authours, bothe Italian
and spanish. 1577.

1. Tell not all that yo^w thinke, nor showe all that yo^w have, nor
take all *that* yo^w Desire, nor saie all *that* yo^w knowe, or do all *that*
yo^w can; for lightlie shall he lose the favour of his prince *that*
followeth the comaundement of his lustes *and* restryneth not them
with the bitt of reason.

2. Beware yo^w put not fortune in trust with those thinges *that*
apperteyneth to *your* person, honnour, substance, or conscience;
for the noble man *which* is wise will not Hasarde him self in hope to
have relief at her handes as often as he shall nede.

3. Although all men promyse to helpe yo^w yf yo^w had neade, yet
nevertheles, trust not too muche thereunto; manie of them *which*
nowe do offer to take Armour for *your* sake, yf occasion be offered,
will be the fyrst to stryke yo^w, to gyve yo^w the overthrowe.

4. In other men's cawses meddle not to much, nor in *your* owne
enforce not tyme; for governinge yo^w so, yo^w maie remaine in *that*
good estate yo^w be, or els maie easilie happen yo^u to remember what
yo^w were.

5. The daunger of noble men is like to them *that* be in the toppe
of high and sharpe mountaines, whence they cannot descende, but
faH. Wherefore, procure vnto *your* self suche faithfull frendes as
will rather staie yo^w from fallinge, then suche as wold reche vnto yo^w
their handes to helpe yo^w vp when yo^w be Downe.

6. Do good whiles yo^w have poure thereunto, and never do hurte thoghie yo^w maie ; for the Teares of the offended, and *the* compleintes of the greved, maye one daie have place in the sight of god, to move him to chastise yo^w, and be also occasion to make the prince to hate yo^a.

7. Bestowe your benefittes and offices rather vpon the good, then vpon your frendes ; for amonges your frendes it is lawefull to departe your goodes, but not your conscience.

8. In *that* yo^w counsaill, be not affectionat : in *that* yo^w discourcell, be not passionate : what soever yo^w do, do aduisedly ; for although in the Courtes of princes every man beholdeth the worthines and nobilitie of the person, yet the more noble a man is, the more is he noted, marked, and hated of others.

9. Yf yo^w will not Erre in your counsailes, nor stamble in your actes, imbrace them *that* tell yo^w trueth, and hate them *that* flatter yo^w ; for muche more ought yo^w to love them *that* adviseth yo^w now, then those *that* will seame to pitie yo^w when yo^w are in Daunger.

10. Have alwaies in memory the benefittes yo^w have receaved of others, and enforce your self to forgett suche iniuries as others have Don vnto yo^w.

11. Esteeme muche *that* litle of your owne, and regarde not thaboundaunce of other.

12. Indevour your self to do good to all men, and never speke eveH of them *that* be absente.

13. Jeoparde not the losse of many thinges for the gaine of one thinge, neither adventure the losse of one thinge certē for manie thinges Dovtfull.

14. Make muche of your dearest frendes, and do not procure anie Enemyes.

15. ¹ Exalte not the riche Tyraunte, neither abhore the pooer *which* is righteouse.

16. Denye not iustice vnto the pooer, because he is pooer ; neither pardon the riche because he is ryche.

17. Do not good onelie for love, neither chastice onelie for hatred.

¹ This paragraph has been marked through.

18. In Evident causes abyde not the counsailes of others, *and* in Dovtfull cawses Determyne not of *your* self.

19. suffer not synne vnponished, nor well-doing without rewarde.

[leaf 9] 20. Denie not Iustice to him *that* asketh, nor mercye to him *that* deserueth it.

21. Chastise ¹ not when thou arte Angrye ; neither promyse anie thinge in thy myrthe.

22. Do eveH to no mañ for malice, neither commyt anie vice for covetousn[ess].

23. Open not thy gate to flatterers, nor thy eares to backbyters.

24. Become not proude in thi ² prosperitie, nor desperate in thyne aduersitie. stody alwaies to be loved of good meñ, *and* seeke nat to be hated of the EveH.

25. Be favorable vnto the pooer, *which* maie be litle, yf thou wylt be ayded of god against them *that* be mightie.

¹ ? MS Chastice

² MS this

The Sage Fool's Testament.

(A SATIRE ON THE ILL DOINGS OF LORDS AND
THEIR SERVANTS.)

[*Harl. MS 2252, leaf 85, ? ab. 1475 A.D.*]

There was A grete lorde þat had A Sage fole, the
whyche he lovyd Marvaylous well, Be Cawse of hys
pastyme. And the Fole in lyke wyse lovyd well hys
lorde A-Bove All hother. And at lenthe the lorde
desesyð, for the whyche the fole was in grete sorow.
And the sonne of þis lorde had All hys faders posses-
syons, & was lorde after hys¹ fadyr, & he lovyd hys fole
in lyke wyse as hys fadyr dyde. And with-in A yere
or ij^e After, Thys sage fole Fyll Seke, & made hys Testa-
mente: And Bequethyd hys sowle to the devyfl, And
hys body to be Beryed in the Chyrche yerde; And hys
Folys hode he bequethed to hys lordis Steward, & hys
Babyfl to hys lordis Amner. And to hys lorde he
Bequete All hys money þat he had gaderyd in Bothe
hys lordis seruyce./ And when the lorde had knowlege
herof, [he] Marvaylyd therof, & whate þat he mente
therbye. And the lorde wente to see the sayd fole.
And Askyd hym 'whyche he gave hys Sowle to the devyfl
And all hothe[r] legacyes in hys wyll.' The Fole Ans-
sweryd the lorde & sayd: "I haue lovyd so well your
fadyr, þat I Covett & Dessyre to be in hys Company

A Lord loves his
Fool,

and dies.

The Lord's son
loves the Fool too.

The Fool falls
sick, and makes
his Will: gives
1. his soul to the
Devil,

2. his hood to the
Steward,
3. his bable to the
Almoner,
4. his money to
his Lord's son,

1. because his dead
Lord's in hell,
and he wants to
join him.

¹ MS *hyr*.

2. because the
Steward won't
hear the poor.

3. because the
Almoner beats the
poor with his
staff.

4. because all the
son's money, and
the Fool's too,

will not repair the
wrongs the old
Lord did.

Above All thyngis, for he lovyd me so weH./ And I know weH þat he ys in heH; wherfor I wolde be with hym./ And I gyve to my lady your wyffe my Bedde, be Cawse þat she myghte lye on hyt; for now she lyethe so softe, þat hyt ys All-moste none every day or þat she Ryse. And to your Steward, my hode; be Cawse hyt hathe iiij erys. for where ye put All your truste in hym, to pay your Credytour & the pore pepyH, he may not here. And to your Amner, my BabyH: Be Cawse when he delyueryth your Almys A-monge the pore pepyH, they prese on hym, & thene he betis them with hys Staffe, þat the Blode Ron Abowte there erys; & my babyll ys Softer. And, my lorde, to yow I geve All my money þat I haue gatheryd, bothe in your seruyse & my lord your fadyrs, to geve in *Almus*." "Whye," seyde the lorde, "thowe knoweste þat I haue money more then thow." Then sayde the fole "All that money þat ye haue, & I to, wyll not Restore the wronge þat your fader hathe don, whyche ys in heH. And thedyr ye goe withowte Amendment; & therfor I geve yow AH my money."

[The next piece in the MS is the *Le Morte Arthur*, in a hand of ab. 1440 A.D., that I edited for Messrs Macmillan a few years ago. Mr Panton had previously edited it for the Roxburghe Club.]

Lydgate's Order of Fools :

IN NUMBER THREESCORE AND THREE.

A COPY of this Poem, with three additional stanzas, but with a different concluding one from that of the present copy, was printed by Mr Halliwell in his *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society. The scarcity of that volume, and the certainty that this print will reach many eyes that have not seen the Percy Society's volume, induce me to print the following poem, though most of its differences from the Harleian MS 2251 that Mr Halliwell followed, are for the worse. As fools have not died out of the world, it may be both interesting and useful to compare the notions of 1460 about them, with those of 1869.

[*Cott. MS Nero A vi., leaf 193 back ; ? ab. 1460-70 A.D.*]

The ordre of folys ful [yore ago] ¹ begonne,	
Nwly professyd, encresithe ² the couente ;	
Bacus and Iuno hath set abroche a tonne,	
[And] Brouthe the[r] braynys vn-to exigente,	4
Marcolfe theyer foundyr, patron, and presidente ;	
Noumbre of thys frary, iij score and iij,	
Echone registred be grete avysement,	
Endosyd theyre patente that they shale neuer the.	8
Chyffe of folis, men yn bokys redythe,	Fool, No. 1.
Able yn hys foly to holde residence,	
Ys he that nowther god louethe nor dredethe, ³	Fool, No. 2.
Nor to his chyrche hathe none aduertence,	12

¹ ? MS tuore. ² h̄ is printed he ; cp. 'lythe,' l. 39.

³ ? MS drodethe

- Fool, No. 3. Nor to his seyntes dothe none reuerence,
 Fool, No. 4. And [hathe] dysdeyne to folke yn pouerte,
 Fool, No. 5. To fadyr and mode^r dothe none benyuolence :
 A-sele hys patent, for he shal neuer the. 16
- Fool, No. 6. The vj fole thys Frary to begynne,
 More than a fole, braynles *and* wode,
 Ys he that neuer wul forsake synne,
 Fool, No. 7. Nor he þat can nought, nor lerne wul no goed, 20
 Fool, No. 8. Nor he þat hathe too faces yn on hode
 May be enrollyd yn þys fraternyte,¹
 Fool, No. 9. Cherle of condicion, and borne of gentil blode,
 May clayme of righte þat he shal neuer the. 24
- Fool, No. 10. The x fole may hoppe vp-oñ the rynge,
 Fote al aforne, *and* lede ryghte the dawnce ;
 He þat al yewythe,² *and* kepethe hym selfe no thyng,
 Fool, No. 11. þ^e double herte, feyre feynyd countenawnce 28
 Fool, No. 12. A pretens³ face treble yn hys dalyaunce,
 Fool, No. 13. Tonge spreynthe *with* suger, the galle kepte secrete,
 Fool, No. 14. A perilous mouthe ys wors þan spere or launce, 31
 Thought they be cheryssed, god lete hym neuer the.⁴
- Fool, No. 15. A Face vnstabyll, gasyng est and sowthe,
 Fool, No. 16. *With* loude laughtrys entrithe⁵ langage,
 Gapithe as a roke, abrode gothe Iowe *and* mowthe
 Lyke a lay enfamynyd yn hys cage, 36
 Fool, No. 17. Malaparte of chere and of wysage,
 Fool, No. 18. Comethe to counsel or he callyd be,
 Fool, No. 19. Of eche þyng medelythe ; hysthryfte lythe yn morgage ;
 Auant a knawe ! for he shal neuer the. 40
- In the boke of prudence cypryane,⁶
 Whyche callyd ys “ a gardeyne of hys flowres,”

¹ MS fraternyne² giveth³ ? MS.⁴ Harl. 2251 has another stanza before the next.⁵ vttrithe. Harl.⁶ H. prudent Cipiouñ.

- He seythe a pulter þat sellythe a fatte swanne Fool, No. 20.
 For a gosselyng, þat grasethe on bareyne clowrys, 44
 And he þat castythe hys cloke yn showrys Fool, No. 21.
 Oute of the tempest whan he may flee,
 Or whan þat spado lowythe paramours, Fool, No. 22.
 [Is oon] of hem that shalle neuer the. 48
 [And he also, that holt hymself so wise,] Fool, No. 23.
 Whyche yn workyn[g] hath non experiens,
 Whos chaunce gothe nether yñ synke or syse, Fool, No. 24.
 With ambes ase encressithe hys dispence, 52
 A Foltysse face, rude of eloquence, Fool, No. 25.
 Bostys *with* borias, *and* [at] a brownte wul flee ;
 Betwene wolfe *and* gossomer is a grete difference ;
 Stuffe of a chappman that ys not like to the. 56
 I rede also of othyr folis too,
 Thyng to chalange to whyche he hathe no ryghte ; Fool, No. 26.
 And he yn trowthe a more fole ys al so, Fool, No. 27.
 Whyche alle requirethe that commethe yn hys sighte ;
 And he ys a fole whyche [to] euery wyghte 61 Fool, No. 28.
 Tellethe hys counselle and hys pryuyte :
 Who sekythe werre, *and* hathe hym selfe no myghte, Fool, No. 29.
 Hit were meruelle þat euer he shuld the. 64
 Anothyr fole *with* counterfete wesage Fool, No. 30.
 Ys he þat falsluy wul fage¹ and feyne,
 Whedyr that he be olde or yyng² of age,
 Seythe he ys syke, and felythe no maner payne ; 68
 And he þat dothe hys owne wyfe disseyne,³ Fool, No. 31.
 And holdythe anothyr, of what asstate he be,
 With othyr folis embrace hym yn the cheyne,
 A warantyse for he shal neuer the. 72

Of thys frary mo folys to expresse,
 He that ys to euery man contrary,

¹ flater. *Harl.*

² MS þynge

³ disdeyne. *Harl.*

- Fool, No. 32. And he þat bostyth of hys cursidnes,
 Fool, No. 33. And he also that dothe prolonge and tarie 76
With faire [be]hestis, fro hys promys to warye;
 Beseluy to telle I can no noþer see,
 He ys like a fugetyf þat fleth to santuarie
 For drede of hangyng, for he shal neuer the. 80
- Fool, No. 34. He ys a fole eke, as senek seythe,
 That long delaythe hys purpose to spede.
 Fool, No. 35. A gretter fole ys he þat brekythe hys feythe;
 Fool, No. 36. And he ys a fole þat no sh[ame dothe] dre[de], 84
 Fool, No. 37. And he that hotythe, *and* faylythe hys frynde at nede,
 Whos promys braydythe on duplicite;
 A hardy mouse that ys bolde to brede
 In cattis erys; þat brode shal neuer the 88
- Fool, No. 38. And he ys a fole þat yeuythe al-so credens
 To nwe rumoris and euery foltishe fable;
 Fool, No. 39. A dronglew fole þat sparythe for no dispence
 To drynk a-taunte til he slepe at þ^e tabille; 92
 Fool, No. 40. Among al folis þat fole/ is most culpabulle
 That ys cursyd, and hathe therof deynte;
 Fool, No. 41. A pore be[ge]re, to be vengeable,
 [Withe] purs penyles, may neuer the 96
- Fool, No. 42. And he þat holdythe a quarel a-yenst righte,
 Hold[yng]¹ hys purpose styburne a-geyn reson;
 Fool, No. 43. And he ys a fole þat ys ay gladde to fighte,
 And to debate sekethe occasioun; 100
 Fool, No. 44. Abyde so long to he be betyn downe,
 Dronkyn, lame, þat he may not flee;
 Fool, No. 45. And who so reioysethe to soiorne in prisoun,
 Enrolle hym vppe, for he shal neuer the. 104
- Fool, No. 46. A lusty galant þat weddythe a olde wiche
 For grete tresoure, be-cause hys purse ys bare;

¹ MS Holde.

- A hungrey hunter þat holdythe hym ¹ A biche Fool, No. 47.
 Nemyll of mouthe for to mordyr A hare ; 108
 Nyghte riotours ² þat wil no waryn spare, Fool, No. 48.
 Wythe-uten licens or eny liberte,
 Tyl sodyn perel bryng hem yn þ^e snare,
 A preperatif þat þey shal neuer the. 112
- Who dothe amysse, or lawghethe hym selfe to skorne, Fool, No. 49.
 Or com to counsel or þat he be callyd, Fool, No. 50.
 Or lowde lawghys whan he dothe ³ morne, Fool, No. 51.
 Amonge foles of rízt he may be stallyd ; 116
 [That] purposithe hys wyage whan hys hors ys gallyd, Fool, No. 52.
 [And] pluckethe of hys shone toward hys iorney, Fool, No. 53.
 Forsakythe fresshe wyne, And drynkythe Ale Apallyd ; Fool, No. 54.
 Suche foltishe taste, ⁴ god let hem neuer the. 120
- And he þat is a riatter al hys life, Fool, No. 55.
 And [hathe] hys felow *and* hys neghbor yn dispite, Fool, No. 56.
 And wondythe hym selfe with hys owne knyfe, Fool, No. 57.
 Of j. candyl wenethe ij. were lighte, 124
 Slepethe on the day *and* wacchis al þ^e nyghte ;
 Alle masse be done long or he redy be ;
 Suche I may clayme, be very titul of rízte,
 To be a brothyr of hem þat shal neuer the. 128
- Who holdythe hys tresoure þat he wissethe, Fool, No. 58.
 And gaderithe hym gossomer to packe hyt for hys wolle,
 And he ys a fole afore the nette þat fysshes, ⁵ Fool, No. 59.
 And he ys a fole þat dothe Federys pulle 132 Fool, No. 60.
 Of fat caponys vp mwyd to the fulle,
 Hath no thyng but bonys for hys fee ;
 N[u]llatensis a-sesythe ⁶ hath hys bulle
 To alle suche, þat neuer of hem shalle the, 136
- When þat gander grasythe on þ^e grene, Fool, No. 61.
 The sleyghty fox dothe hys brode beholde,

¹ houndithe on. *Harl.*

² motoners. *Harl.*

³ laughyng. whan that he shuld. *Harl.* ⁴ foolis. *Harl.*

⁵ dothe wisshithe. *Harl.*

⁶ ensealed. *Harl.*

He takythe the fatte [and] cast a-way the lene,
 And [sigrums]¹ chefe wardyn of the folde, 140
 Takythe to hys lard[er] at what pryse þey be solde,
 Grettest lamber, on or to, to or iij.;
 [In wynter n]ythys the frostis be so colde,
 The shepard slepyth; god let thym neuer the ! 144

Fool, No. 62

[A fo]ryn² likenes whych shal no man displece,
 [By] a strange vncouthe comparisoun,
 [W]hen the belwedyr pasturythe at hys ese,
 [T]how alle the flocke hawe but smal foyssoun, 148
 [S]lepethe at leyser, makythe noyse none nor soun,
 [Ca]rethe for no more so he haue plente :
 [A]l tho þat make suche a departysowne
 [A]mong her suggettis, god lett hem neuer the ! 152

Fool, No. 63.

With ful wombe þey prechyd of Abstinence,
 Ther botel Fyllyd of freshe wyne or ale,
 Loue rownyng, loutyng *and* reuerence,
 Nwe fals reporte *with* many glosyng tale; 156
 The Iay more cherychyð þan the nyztyngeale,
 Tabourers *with* her duplicite
 Plesithe more þys days, when stuffyð ys þer male
 Farsed *with* flateryng; god let hem neuer the ! 160

³[L]ete thys frary a confirmacioun,
 [And] som worthy byshoppe nullatence,
 [And] graunten hem a general pardoun
 [And] a patent to be-gyn her dispence, 164
 [Er]ly *and* late to walke *with* licence
 [With] opyn walet frely en eche countre,
 [He]r bul enselyð, concludyng in sentence 167
 [Th]at none of al þys ordyr ys neuer like to the. Amen.

¹ Harl.² A foreyn. Harl.³ Pared off. Harl. 2251 has three different stanzas for this last one.

A Prophecy, &c.

[*Additional MS 8151, leaf 200, back; at the end of William of Nassington's 'Mirror of Life,' and in the same hand as that.*]

¶ The prophetic.

¶ Whene pryde is moste in prys,
Ande couetyse moste wys,
Ande lutchery moste in vse,
þese maade reue,
þenne schaff englonde mys-chewe.

When England
shall come to
grief.

4

[What can man possess?]

þat .I. ete *and* þat .I. drynke, þat may .I. haue;
þat .I. lene fals mene, longer .I. may hyt craue;
þat .I. dele for my soule, þat may .I. fynde;
þat .I. lefe my sekatoures, þat is longer by-hynde.

8 Gifts to God
come back.

All hyt is fantome þat we wiþe fare,
Ande for opere mennes goode is all oure care;
Alle come we hyder nakude *and* bare,
Whenne we heþene passe, is þere no mare.

12 Naked we came,
naked we go.

[ills of our time. See p. 88.]

Gyfte is domusmane,
Gyle is chapemane;
Lordes bene lawles,
Chyldere bene awles;
Wysemene are blynde,
Deþe is oute of mynde,
Cosyns bene vnkynde,
A goode sykere frende is yuell to fynde;
Ande euere, in weele *and* in woo,
þenke one þe ioy þat lasteþe for oo.

Bribery is Judge,

16

children aweles,

20

sure friends
are scarce.

What shall I do?

(A COMPLAINT AGAINST THE UNKINDNESS AND
BASENESS OF FALSE FRIENDS.)

[*Egerton MS 1624, leaf 1, ?ab. 1470 A.D.*]

als I me sat my self allon,
in my hart makand¹ my mon,
I said "allas, my gammys ar gon !
 qwat sal I do ? 4
 that I most trayste,
 it is all waste !
 sor may me rew !

My hert was set ful stedfastly 8
on *tham that* noȝt was set on me ;
thus am I sted ful heuely,
god lord, qwat sal worth of me ?
 qwat sall I do &c' 12

I wold fayn lof w[*ith*]out verraunce
 tham that my hert I haf gyffyn to :
it wyllnot be, for no kyn chauns,
 that I can audur say or do. 16
 v[t] supra

¹ This *-and*, with the *qwat, sall, haf, lof, thai puttis*, point to a Northern writer.

deer god ! qwat may *this* mene ?

qwy is *this* ward¹ *thus* fals to me ?

I am *the* creatur *that* il kan fene 20

any falsed or trechere :

qwate sall I do ? &c'

with care my hert is vmbe-set ;

qwate I sal do I cannot say ; 24

tham for to lof I cannot let,

that me has broght vn-to *this* fray :

[qwate sal I do ?] &c'

wold god *that* I war broght in clay ! 28

ful hard it is *this* lyf to lede !

I pray god qwytte *tham* nyzt and day,

that me *thus* make to haue *this* nede !

[qwate sal I do, &c] 32

god wot, 3it was I neuer vnkynd

to *tham*, ne 3it to non of *thayrs* ;

ther was neuer non so mykyl² in my mynde,

qwo^t so I haue don to *tham* and *thers*. 36

[qwate sal I do, &c]

that *thai* me puttis *thus* out of mynde,

qwate *that* *thai* men I wold fayne wytte.

god wot I was neuer 3it vn-kynde, 40

of no thyng *that* *thai* hafter³ me 3it.

[qwate sal I do ?

that I most trayste,

it is all waste ! 44

sor may Me rew !]

¹ world.

² MS mykyl.

³ This word is doubtful—qⁿ, or q^u with a long curl to the *u*, has been written under it, and the curl carried into the *aft*. *Hasked*, for *asked*, was no doubt meant.

Ylls of our Time.

(A better copy than that on p. 85. The stops are those
of the MS.)

[Harleian MS 2251 († in Shirley's hand), leaf 153.]

¶ <i>Munus fit¹ Iudex. fraus est mercator in vrbe</i> <i>Non lex est dominis. nec timor est pueris</i>	
¶ Yift is made. domesman	
Gyle is made. chapman	4
Lordes ben lawles	
And children ben awles	
¶ <i>Ingen[i]um dolus est. amor omnis cera² voluptas</i> <i>Ludus rusticitas. et gula festa dies</i>	8
Witte is tourned. to trechery	
Love is tourned. to lechery	
Pleye is tourne[d] to vilany	
And haliday. to gloteny	12
¶ <i>Etas ridetur. mulier pulsatur amore</i> <i>Dives laudatur. pauper³ adheret hvmō</i>	
Olde men. ben skorned	
Wymmen. ben wowed	16
Riche men. bien pleasid	
And pore men. ben diseasid	
¶ <i>Prudentes ceci. cognati degeneres sunt</i> <i>Mortuus Ignotus. nullus amicus amat</i>	20
Wise men. bien blynde	
And kynrede. is vnkynde	
The dede is. out of mynde	
Triew friende. can noman fynde.	24

¹ MS sit

² ? for certa or mera.

³ MS paupere

The Order of the Guests at the Coronation Banquet of Catherine of Valois, wife of Henry V.,

24 FEB., 1421.¹

[*MS Addit.* 18,752, leaf 162.]

*Thetramamaton.*²

THE CORONACION OFF *THE QWENE*.

THE QWENES BORDE THE DAY OFF THE CORONACION.

On *the* ryght hond of the qwene, the Erchebyssshope off *Canterbury* // The Byssshope off *Wynchester* // On the lyfte hond off the qwene / The kyng off *Scottes yn A State* // At the End off the qwene-ys borde / The duchesse of *yorke*, The Cowntes off *hunthyngton* // Vnder the borde. / wayting on the Qwene / The Cowntes off *kente*, The cownt[e]z *marcha* // On the ryght syde of the qwene *knelyd* / The Erle of *the marche* holdyng *the Ceptre* And on *the* lyfte syde *knelyd* / *the* Erle off *Stafford* holdyng the *yarde* //

The Secownd Borde of *the* ladys

The cowntes off *Stafford* // The Cowntez off *marche*. The Cowntez off *Arunde* // The Cowntez off *Westmorland* The Cowntez off *Northumburland* // The cowntez off *Oxford* The lady *Neyle* // My lady *Ione Somersett* // My lady *Moumbrey*, doughtere off *the* Erle *Marcha* // My lady *Margarete Somersett* // The lady *Roos* // The lady *Clyfforde*, The lady *Burgeveny* // The lady *Talbott* // The lady *Wylloby* // The lady *Mawley* // *Alice Neve*, wyffe to *sir Richard Neyle* // The *Mayde Grey*, doughter to *the lord Grey* // Oon of *the* doughters of *Westmoreland* // The lordes doughtere *ffythzhug* // ij *Susters of the lord Wylleby*.

THE SECONDE DAY AFTER THE CORONACION
ATT THE QWENE-YS BORDE

The Duchesse off *yorke* // The Countesse off *huntyngton* // Att the Secound borde.

The Cowntez off *Stafforde* // The Cowntez off *March*, The Cowntez off *kente* // The cowntez off *Arunde*, The Cowntez *Marchall* /

And othere ladys afture the Cows of the day a-ffore-Seyde //

¹ *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, 11848-53, printed 1868, p. 145.

² So in MS.

Courses of a Dinner and Supper given to Hen. V. by Sir John Cornwett.

[Additional MS 18,752, leaf 162, back.]

Hoc festum fecit dominus Iohannes Cornewett Regi Anglie //

²

A

[The rest of the page is blank.]

[leaf 163]

Tetragramaton ³

In prandio

The 2. course

ffrumenty with veneson ⁴
Blawmanger ⁵
Beffe and Moton
Signetys
Capons off haute grece
vele
heronseux
venyson y-bake
leche ffloree

} primus

Nonbles ⁶
Gelee ⁷
ffesaunte
pygg
kydde
Pygeons
Partrycches
venyson roste
Crustades ⁸ blancz bake
leche dalmayn
Semaka ⁹ frye

} 2^{us}.

¹ *Catal. of Addit. MSS, Brit. Mus.*, 1868, p. 145-6.

² The Additional MSS-Catalogue applies this heading to the piece before it, printed on p. 92 here, though the hand-writing and colour of the ink seem to connect the heading with what follows on the next leaf (163) of the MS. The whole of this piece on leaf 163 is in the same hand and ink as the Coronation, whilst the piece printed on p. 92 here is in paler ink and different writing,—earlier, as I think.

³ This is at the top of the page.

⁴ 'For to make Furmenty' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 91, "messe yt forthe wyth fat venyson and fresh moton." See also the Earl of Devon's Feast in *Harl. Misc.*, No. 279. Pegge, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 157.

⁵ Recipe for 'Blonc Manger' in *Liber Cure Coc.*, p. 9; 'Blomanger' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 93.

⁶ Recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 16, 94; *H. Ord.*, p. 427; *Lib. C. Coc.*, p. 10.

⁷ Recipe for 'mete Gelee,' clear, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 103; 'Gele of Fyssh,' *ib.* p. 50; 'Gele of Flessh,' *ib.* p. 51. See *H. Ord.*, p. 437.

⁸ Recipe for 'Crustade' in *Household Ordinances*, p. 442.

⁹ 'On Flessh-Day . . At the seconde course . . a leche, and samakade, and bake mete,' *H. Ord.*, p. 450. See the recipe for *Sambocade*—curd, eggs, &c., flavoured with elder flowers: *Sambucus*, the Elder,—in *Forme of Cury*, p. 77.

The 3 course

Mameny ¹ ryaff	}	3 ^{us}
Chare de wardon ²		
Rabetys		
Byteres ³		
Egretys		
Popelers ⁴		
Quayles		
Plouers		
Smaff byrdis ⁵		
larkes		
Payn puffe ⁶		
leche lumbarde ⁷		
Cryspes fryez ⁸		

In Cena

Venyson on broche
 Creme boylle⁹
 Pygg in Sauge¹⁰
 Schuldres of Moton
 Capons of haute grece
 Heronseux
 Partrych
 Chekyns y-bake
 lete¹¹ lardes y-fryed

The last course

Colde Creme¹²
 Gele
 Venyson roste
 kyde roste
 Rabetis
 Pegeons
 Egretys
 Quayles
 Smaff byrdis
 Doucetis¹³ y-bake
 Leche damasque

Nota bene the coronacion yn the leffe nexte be-fore thus

¹ Recipes in *Forme of Cury*, p. 19, 88; *H. Ord.*, p. 430.

² ? Apple marmalade.

³ Bitterns. See 'Betowre' in *Babees Book* index.

⁴ *Popple*, to move quickly up and down, as a cork dropped on water. *Webster*.

⁵ See *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 36, l. 8.

⁶ Recipe in *H. Ord.*, p. 450; *Forme of Cury*, p. 89.

⁷ Recipe in *H. Ord.*, p. 438; *Forme of Cury*, p. 36; *Babees Book*, Pt II, p. 95.

⁸ Recipes for 'Cryspes' and 'Cryspels' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 73; for 'Cryppys,' *ib.* p. 99.

⁹ Recipe for 'Crem Boyled' in *H. Ord.*, p. 447, p. 463.

¹⁰ 'Pigge en Sage' at the Earl of Devon's Feast in *Harl. Misc.*, No. 279.

Pegge.

¹¹ See the recipes for 'Letlardys' (Leche Lardys), in *Liber Cure Coc.*, p. 13, and 'Leche Lardys' in *H. Ord.*, p. 439.

¹² On Flessh-Day . . . At the thridde cours, *colde creme*, and *gele* to potage; and therwith fylettes of *venyson*, roasted *pejons*, *egretys*, *partoriches*, *rabettes* and *qwales* . . . and *cuspis* and *doucettes*. *H. Ord.*, p. 450.

¹³ Recipe in *Babees Book*, p. 60; and see Index to *B. B.*

Courses of a Meal or Banquet.

[*MS Addit. Brit. Mus. No. 18752, leaf 162, back.*¹]

Grene pese, <i>with</i> venesoñ.	}	1 ^{us} cursus
Graunte chare. ²		
Capoñ of hawte grece.		
Signet. ³		
Blawnche custarde, dyaburde <i>with</i> byrdys.		
leche maskelyñ.		

Roo in brothe. ⁴	}	2 ^{us} cursus
Rosey. ⁵		
Kyddde.		
Heronsewe.		
Mownter in manteñ.		
Chykyñ dyaburde.		
venesoñ y-bake.		
ffruter lumbarde.		
leche rubby.		

Datys in composte.	}	Suggearke [<i>Sugar-work?</i>]
Blawnche creme, <i>with</i> annys in confete.		
Lardys of venesoñ.		
Rabbettis.		
Qwayle.		
larkys.		
Rysshewes. ⁶		
vyandys cowched <i>with</i> ryons.		
l leche of his Armys.		

¹ In different ink and hand from the *Coronation*, page 89, above.

² A great joint. Cp. 'and therwith *gret flessch* weel rosted, and *chapon*, and *swan* rosted.' *Househ. Ord.*, p. 450.

³ cygnet, swanling.

⁴ See recipe in *Househ. Ord.*, p. 428; and 'Roo in a Sewe,' *Lib. C. Coc.* p. 23.

⁵ 'For to make Rosee,' *Forme of Cury*, p. 105, 108; 'Rosee,' *ib.* p. 31; 'Rose to potage' in *Household Ordinances*, p. 430; 'Rose' in *Lib. Cure Coc.* p. 13; 'Rose dalmoyne,' *ib.* p. 19.

⁶ Ryshews of Fruyt, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 82, No. 182. See too 'Rissheus' (of pork, eggs, &c.) in *Lib. C. Coc.* p. 39.

A Scotch copy of a Poem on Heraldry.

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaves 151—155, from a book of Sir William Cummyng's of Inverallochy, Marchmont Herald, ab. 1500 A.D.*]

THIS poem appears to have been composed late in the 15th century, by one of that unwise class of writers on Heraldry, who, not content with assigning to that science its proper place as a handmaid to History (which, by enabling the ownership and dates of various buildings, charters, monuments, &c., to be identified, the matrimonial alliances of noble families to be proved, &c. &c., it certainly is) by claiming for it a fabulous origin, and one so manifestly capable of disproof, brought the whole subject into such contempt and ridicule, that the study of it in later generations was almost entirely neglected. Such, in 1661 A.D., was Sylvanus Morgan, who ascribes arms to Adam, Eve, Joseph, &c.; and various others both in England and Scotland.—G. E. ADAMS. (The heraldic footnotes are Mr Adams's too.)

First as ¹*the* erth incresith populus,
So convalit variance *and* vicis,²

As people and
vices increase,

Amang men materis maliciouse,

So *that* few mycht laubour for discrepancis,
quhill nobilnes in armes, lordly pusancis,
and of heraldis *the* werschipful ordour,
Of quham I think to tret, set weyis sure.

4 few men work for
the distinctions
which heralds
deal with.

In werris of thebes, athenis, *and* troyis tounis,
with *otheris* mo of gret antiquiteis,

Banneris, standeris, gittovnis,³ pensalis, penonis,
borne by princis, nobillis, *and* commyniteis,

8 In the wars of
Thebes, Athens,
and Troy,
banners, &c.,
were borne by
nobles and others.

In ferre of werre, pes, or ony degreis,

12

I find *thai* war most merkis, as merchandis
Beris toknis or signetis on ther handis.

¹ *th* = *y* of MS.

² MS *vicis* & *variance*

³ *Getoun*, a banner, properly 2 yards in length.—*Archæol.*
xxii. 397. See note, p. 29, above.

Afterwards,	Quhill efter euer <i>the</i> langest leving men	
	heris, speris, <i>and</i> lernis more felle <i>and</i> wit,	16
ingenious folk	Diuerse folkis ingenyouse fyndene <i>thene</i>	
	In well degest myndis considerit,	
inspired by God,	Be celestial inspiring part tuk it,	
set Arms in figures of	To set armes in metallis <i>and</i> colouris,	20
	ffor seir causis bering sertyn figouris,	
	Sum sonne, sum monne, sum sternis, sum elementis,	
beasts, birds, &c.,	Sum best, sum bird, sum fische, sum frut, sum flouris,	
	and mony mo siclik ; Sum <i>with</i> defferentis,	24
some like Nature and some not.	Sum alterit, als sum in <i>ther</i> awin nature ;	
	Sum, not <i>the</i> hole, bot part in raschit ¹ figouris,	
	As my simplest consate sal suin mak clere,	
	With correctioun, <i>and</i> now quha likis heir.	28
In the Theban war (which I wrote of at length) Palamon and Arcite were known by their arns.	The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were,	
	wes at thebes, quhiche at linth I did write,	
	Quhare palamonne and arsite, woundit there,	
	Be <i>ther</i> cotis of armes knawin parfite,	32
	Be heraldis war, sum sais, bot <i>that</i> I nyte, ²	
	ffor in <i>thai</i> dais heraldis war not create,	
	Nor <i>that</i> armes set in propir estate.	
After the siege of Troy (about the knights at which my Book tells),	Bot eftir <i>that</i> troy, quhar so mony kingis war	36
	Seging without, <i>and</i> other within <i>the</i> toune,	
	So mony princis, knyghtis, <i>and</i> peple there,	
	as this my buk <i>the</i> most sentence did sounne,	
	all <i>thocht</i> spedful in o conclusiounne,	40
nobles wore marks to record their doughtiness,	That nobillis bere merkis, to mak be knawin,	
	<i>ther</i> douchtynes in dedis of armes schawin :	

¹ Erased. See l. 168. 'In Heraldry, the Member of any Beast which seems torn from the Body, is called *Erased*.'—*Gloss. Angl. Nov.*

² Deny. Chaucer is one of the 'sum' contradicted ; see his *Knightes Tale*, A. 1016-17, Ellesmere MS,

But by here Cote Armures / and by hir gere
The *heraundes* / knewe hem best in special

- The fader *the* hole, *the* eldast son deffer[e]nt,¹
 quhiche a labelle ; a cressent *the* secound ; 44 and the sons
 bore distinctions
 on their fathers'
 arms.
 third a molet ; *the* fourt a merl to tent ;
 fift anne aglot ;² *the* vj a flour had fond,
 Clepit delice.³ *than* fader or we the suld grond
 Armes to mo, gif *thai* be with difference 48
 As plesit him : *thus* armes begoñ froñ thens.
- Than* troy distroyit, *the* werris endit, *the* lordis
 I seir landis removit ; *and* so brutus
 (his lif *and* dait my buk efter recordis,) 52 After the
 destruction of
 Troy, Brutus
 (whose life my
 Book tells)
 brought these
 marks into
 Britain.
 Come in brutane with folkis populus,
 And brocht with him *this* werly merkis thus,
 quhiche succedis in armes to *this* date ;
 Bot lang efter troy, heraldis war nocht creat. 56
- Mony haldis *that* gret Iulius cesar
 ffand, *and* did mast be wit *and* discrecioun,
 how in metallis *and* colouris armes ar
 Now propir set with hie perfectioun 60 Many think
 Julius Cæsar was
 the first to blaze
 arins properly
 (see l. 204); and
 I think he was
 wise enough
 for it.
 In braid feldis to bere *and* to blasoun.
 On principal I traist wes his prudens,
 With *otheris* mo preceding him *and* sence.
- Gold *and* siluer, ij preciose metallis pure, 64 With gold and
 silver are mixed
 ffour colouris bene propir, *and* the[r]-with mixt,

¹ These differences or distinctions of houses (which are only used in British heraldry) were invented about the time of Richard II. The eldest son (in the lifetime of his father) bears a label over the arms of his father ; the second son, a crescent ; the third, a mullet, i. e. spur-rowel ; the fourth, a martlet, the heraldic name of the house-marten ; the fifth an annulet (here called "aglot") ; the sixth, a fleur-de-lis ; the seventh, a rose ; the eighth, a cross moline ; the ninth, a double quarter-foil.

² *Aglot* = annulet. Richardson says *aglet* or *aiglet*, diminutives of *acus*, a point ; and quotes Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, b. 11, c. 3—who mentions a garment besprinkled "with golden *aygulets*." Query, If these were not *annulets*? *Aglot* in our text is certainly used for annulet. (But annulets were very rarely used as marks of cadency in Scottish heraldry, says a Scotch friend. See note, p. 103.)
³ *de lys*.

black, red, blue,
green; but not
purple.

Sable, goulis, asur, vert : *perpure*
the[r]-with¹ wnproper, as *proportis the* text ;
In it apperis diuerse colouris befixt, 68
therfor it is not o *propir* colour,
Bot sufferit so in armes of honour.

What precious
stones represent
the heraldic
metals and
colours.

To blasoune *therin* vertuys stanis, gold Is
more *precius than* oucht *that* ma be set. 72
In it bot stonne goldy, as *thopasis* ;
Siluer is perl ; sable, diamont² of det ;
Goulis, ruby ; asur, *the* saphir set ;
Vert, emeraut ; pu[r]pour, *the* amathis. 76
Tovny colour, sum *haldis* cassidone Is.

Silver and sable
are said to be the
richest arms.

Sum seis siluer *and* sable ar *the* richest,
ffor in *tho* two most *cristin and* hethin kingis
makis *and* brekis *ther* lawis As *thai* lust best ; 80
and quhen *thai* tak honour othir or sic thingis,
thai sit in sable *and* siluer *that* euey bringis ;
and of brutane³ *the* duk, bering *the* sammyñ,
Richast armes is, as I lernit am. 84

The Duke of
Brittany bears
them,

¹ I read it, "Gold and silver are two pure precious metals. There are four colours proper, and therewith mixed, viz. sable, gules, azure, and vert.—Purpure (to mix) therewith is improper, as says the text, &c."

Purple is very seldom used in English heraldry. It is nonsense, however, to say it is *improper* to use it, as it is quite good heraldry. A purple lion was borne by the De Lacy family, Earls of Lincoln, and is (accordingly) the arms of Lincoln's Inn.

'Proper' above means 'properly so called.' In blazoning the arms of nobles, the ancient heralds called "or," topaz ; "argent," pearl ; "sable," diamond ; "gules," ruby ; "azure," sapphire ; "vert," emerald ; and "purpure," amethyst. In all the books of *English* heraldry two other colours are allowed, viz. 'Tenné' or tawny, i. e. orange colour, and 'Sanguiné,' i. e. blood colour. There is, however, no instance of their occurrence.

² *Sable*, the Heralds Word for a black Colour in the Arms of Gentlemen ; but in those of the Nobility they call it *Diamond*, and in the Coats of Sovereign Princes *Saturn*. 'Tis expressed in Engraving by strokes drawn perpendicularly across.—*Gloss. Angl. Nova*. 1719.

³ The arms of Brittany were "Ermine," i. e. *white*, with black ermine spots.

- All writ in warld most be as siluer *and* sable ;
 quhite leiff, blak Ink, *that* al kingis, for most part, and so do most
 Cristin *and* hethin, beris gold *and* siluer able kings.
 thing of riches riolest to aduert, 88
and most noble, for no colouris astert
 So preciose as gold to set in it, Metals and
 ffor siluer [than] perll more riche to wit ; colours exceed
 in worth the
 precious stones
 Goullis, ruby ; asur, saphire excedis ; 92 that represent
 Vert, emerautis ; *and* amatist, purpur ; them.
therof gold is moche rich in werely wedis.
 fflowr thingis in armes brekis *thaim* in *ther* natur : Arms are broken
 Bendis, sic,¹ cheveroune, *and* barris² sure ; 96 by Bends, Fesses,
 Chevrons, and
 Bars.
 Thaim blason first, gif therin *the* feld be ;
 quhat euer he bere, *and* be it quarterlie.³
 Than to begin at colour in *the* rycht sid :
 and it is said, non armes may be cald 100 It is said that no
 propirly set, bot *therin* be to-gid arms are proper,
 unless gold and
 silver are in
 them.
 Gold or siluer in *the* sammyn to behold.⁴
 And for repreve to blase, men wise be schuld.
 ffour thingis in armes bot onys suld namyt be, 104
 Onis of, onis in, onys withe, *and* onys to see ;
 Quhiche, gif he may forbere, it is *the* bet.
 and als in armis ar sertene rondis,⁵ as ball, Roundles have
 diverse names,

¹ ? fess, the *fece* of l. 113, which is another ordinary.

² Bends, chevrons, and bars are three of the somewhat numerous "ordinaries" so called from their frequent use. In "*blazoning*" (i. e. describing the coat in words) the ordinary is always mentioned before any other charge (such as bird, beast, &c.), that there may be in the arms. *Query*, What are the *four* things in the line above? only three are mentioned. Can "sic" be a mistake for "fess," which is another ordinary?

³ If the coat is quarterly, the colour (or metal) on the dexter side of the coat (i. e. that opposite one's left hand) is to be "*blazoned*" as the first.

⁴ Some say no arms are correct unless therein is either gold or silver.

⁵ In arms are certain Roundles, which, when gold, are called "*bezants*," when silver, "*plates*," when sable, "*pellets*," when gules, "*torteaux*," when azure, "*hurts*," when vert,

- according to
their colours. Metalis, colouris forsaid figourit *and* set, 108
Gold, besentis; siluer, plateis to call;
Sable, poletis; gotlis, tortes at al;
Asur, hurtis; verte, pomme; wyndows,¹ purpur.
3hit four thingis longis to armis in colour, 112
- Of the Pale, That is, pales, bendis, feces, cheveronis.
perpale, evin douñ extendis through the myd feild;
Fess, perfess, ourthwert from sid to sid it gonne Is;
Bend, perbend, from rycht corner to left it held; 116
Chevron, and per cheveroune, part devid wnto iij the feild;
Baton. Onne bastone is contrary to a bend:
The tonne frome left, the tother frome rycht sid tend.
- None but gentles
should wear
arms. Non bot gentillis suld cotis of armes were, 120
Cummyñ of stok noble, or maid be kingis;
3it fold² wil say of men hernest in gere,
Don't call armed
men 'men of
arms' unless they
are all 'gentle.' "llo men of armis!" that is wntrew seyng,
bot al be gentil; therfor see suthfast thing, 124
"llo armit men!" 3it to knaw neidful is
xv maneris of lionys in armys,
- Of the 15
kinds of Lions
in Heraldry. first, a lionne [statant]; on-vthir, lyone rampand;
Third, saliant; the fourt, passand I-wis; 128
the v. seand; vj mordand; vij cuchand;
the viij dormand; the ix regardand is;
The x endorsit; xj copray schawis;
The xij copy conter changit aduert; 132
xiij in nomer [morné]; xiiij, liouñ cowert;
- And the xv combatand,³ als to see.
xv maner of crocis armis bere:

"pomes," when purple, "*golpes*,"—*Query*, in text called "windows." (Perhaps from the slanting parallel lines that represent purple in heraldry: compare the fourth meaning of "*window*" in Mahn's Webster, 'A figure formed of lines crossing each other [Rare] "Till he has *windows* on his bread and butter." *King*.'—F.)

¹ ? for 'wounds.'

² fool, or folk.

³ combatand.

- The first, hole croce ; *the tother*, engrelit be ; 136 Of the 15 kinds
The third, awndi ; *the iiij*, paty in feir ;¹ of Crosses in
the v. a crois ; *vj*, crois flarait cleir ; Heraldry.
vij botand ; viij crosolat ; ix batone ;
x fovrmie ; xj crois fichye ; 140
- xij sarsile fere ; demolyn xiiij ;
xiiij regle ; xv sucylle, sey.
quhat maner of best or bird goith rond to sene,
About *the* feld blase it heroune verrey.² 144
- Twa thingis in armis sal end in schewis a[l]wey ; Three or more
Gif *ther* be mo off *thaim than ij that* schewis, Lions and Herons
As lionne-sewys,³ to sey, *and* heronne-sewis ; are called Lioncels
and Heronsews ;
- Bot onne or⁴ ij call lion or heroun. 148 but 1 or 2, Lion
or Heron.
- Armis vmdois, ij strakis myd feld devid,
fret⁵ ar in armis, *and* ij thingis compone Of Bars and
lik to *vther*, barr *and* fete⁵ brode to-gid. Frets.
- Als certane thingis plurar in armis go, 152
As flouris to blase, and pellettis with thoo
- Not be to namyt, gif he beire mo *than ij*,
Bot *thus* flowris florate to blase rycht.
- thre thingis in armes 3it be lik *vtheris* evin, 156 Of Torteaux,
Tortes, tortell pellettis, pellett hecht, Tortell-pellets,
Fussewis,⁶ masklewis, *and* losingis *thus* plicht. and Pellets.
- Be ther mony fussewis,⁷ masklewis⁸ *thaim* call, Of Fusils,
And losengis 3it in armys with-all. 160 Mascles, and
Lozenges.
- Ale maner of best to blase, sey 'be armit,' Call beasts
and al birdis, sey 'membrit' saufly : armed ;
Girphinne,⁹ baith bird *and* best, we suld call it birds, *membred* ;
griffins, *membred*
and armed.

¹ ? for 'enteir.'² ? for 'inurne.'³ lioncel. '*Lioncels*, the Heralds Term for Lions, when there is more than Two of them born in any Coat of Arms, and no Ordinary between them; and 'tis all one with a small or young Lion,'—*Gloss. Angl. Nova*.⁴ MS on.⁵ ? fret or fess.⁶ ? MS 'Suffewis.' The same things elsewhere in the MS are called 'fusees' and 'fussel.'⁷ ? MS 'fuffewis.'⁸ mascle.⁹ Griffons.

- To blase, 'membrit *and* armyt' boith Iustly. 164
 3it in armes, picles¹ *and* delphes espy.
 Billettis, hewmat², *and* ij indenturis be,
 Perpale cheveroune, perpale glondes to se.
- Legs and heads
 may be *erased*.
 [See note to l. 26.] Thire be also raschit, as lege or heid, 168
 wiche gerondy³ verry *and* belly told : [?]
 In quhat metallis or colouris *that* thai sted,
 quhat thingis *thai* be, ful attently behold :
 ffigour, forme, flour, or quhat mater on mold, 172
 In armes set, *and* so blase discretly ;
 And quho siche beris, study weil, *and* espy.
- You may blazon
 Ermine and
 Vair, furs of
 beasts, 3hit sum haldis in armis ij certane thingis,
 Nothir metallis nor colouris to blasoune, 176
 Ermyne *and* werr, callit panis, bestly furring,⁴
 And haldin so *without other* discripeioun.
 All attentik armys of hie renoune
 Of al estat^{is}, and general of al manis, 180
 Bene set in this metallis, colouris, *and* panys.
- which were found
 after the
 precious stones, Quhiche honorable in al armis forsaide,
 war first fundyn eftir *the* precieuse stans,
 In nombyr few, and so costly araid, 184
 That al noblay may not gudly at anys
 Actene *ther*to : *than* law of armys disponys
 ffor *theme* be sett *and* portrait with pictouris,
 In feildis, *the* seid metallis *and ther* colouris ; 188
- that came first
 from Paradise. The quhiche stanis come first frome paradise,
 thairfor *thai* ar so precyus singlar.
 quha will study his wittis, *and* conterpace
- How planets, The hie planetis, and signis of the aire, 192
 Symylitudis of thaim he may fynd there
 ffor to blasoun, *and* also in bestiall,
 In erbis, foullis, *and* fischis *ther*withall ;
- beasts, herbs, &c.,
 may be blazoned,

¹ ? for 'pikes.' ² humet. ³ gyronny.⁴ furs, called less properly pann (or cloth).

- How *thai* be born, in quhat kindis, *and* quhare, 196
 also be quhom, *and* eftir in excellence,
- That I refer to my lordis to declair,
 kingis of armes, *and* heraldis of prudens,
 and persewantis, *and* grant my negligens 200
that I suld not attempe *thus* to commoune,
 Bot of *ther* grace, correctioun, *and* pardoune,
- ffor, as I red, *princis* of nobillest mynd,
 And specialy *this* seid Iulius cesar, 204
ther attentik worthi ordour did fynd,
 fful honorable in erth, *and* necesser,
 To bere armes, blasoune, *and* to prefer
 Vthir officiaris in honour, as I schall 208
 Schaw causis quhy of *this* ordour regall,
- Quhiche ascendis, create be greis thre :
 first, persewant ; syn, herald ; *and* than king ;
 Ichone of *this* being gre aboue gre, 212
 Be land *and* see preuilegit in al thing,
 In werre *and* peice, batell, province *and* ring,
 Ceté, castellis, *parliamentis* prerogative,
 Amang *princis* trew reuerendaris to schrive. 216
- Oure al *the* world, *and* erast Amang *the* best,
 thir preambulis *and* discripcionis procedis,
 all thingis be takin treuly as *thai* attest,
 ay liscenciat *and* lovit with al ledis, 220
 Noblis, vergynis, *and* wedois in *ther* nedis,
 Of holy chirche *the* sure feith *thai* support,
 At *ther* poweris causing to al consort.
- Withoutin quham, honerable actis in armis 224
 wirschipfully is seldim donne, we se,
 ffor ded of lif, fauour, hatrent, or harmis,
 Euer *thai* attest *the* verray verite,
 quhar na man may laubour for Inymyte, 228
ther *thai* proced, euer schawing *the* best ;
 withouttin quham, quha mycht materis degest.

I refer to my
 lords, the King
 of Arms, and
 Heralds,

who were
 honoured by
 Julius Cæsar and
 other princes of
 the noblest mind.

Of Heralds are
 3 orders :
 1. Poursuivant.
 2. Herald.
 3. King, the
 highest.

Heralds' decrees
 are obeyed by all,
 as Heralds are
 loved by all, are
 the protectors of
 all needy, and the
 support of
 Holy Church.

Without Heralds
 great deeds of
 arms are
 seldom done.

This noble Order,	This hie ourdour noble <i>and</i> necessary, prince of peté, <i>and</i> Iuge amang gentrice,	232
movers of good,	most behuffull tretaris of trowith no vary, Mewaris of goud, <i>and</i> mesaris of malice,	
wells of knowledge,	wellis of cunnyng, <i>and</i> trowit in kingly wise, Manſuete maneryt so <i>ther</i> merit ^{is} requir ^{is} ,	236
	Ther dewiteis al digniteis desir ^{is} .	
may God the Trinity, and the Blessed Virgin, save,	Señ it is so, our souerane Lord most hie, The thre personis resting in o godheid, and one in thre, <i>the</i> hali trinite,	240
	the blissit vergin of quhom god tuk manheid, Saif <i>this</i> ordour, prudently to proceid	
to promote love among Christian kings!	Amang kingis, princis, liegis <i>and</i> lordis ; Of cristindome to cause luf <i>and</i> concordis !	244
And my insufficiency, do you, Herald,	And I confess my simple insufficiens : Iltil haf I sene, <i>and</i> reportit weil less, of <i>this</i> materis to haf experience.	
	Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express,	248
	In my waiknes, <i>and</i> not of wilfulnes, my seid lordis correk me diligent,	
my lords, correct and complete !	To maid menis, or sey <i>the</i> remanent !	

NOTES TO A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

This poem does not seem to have been originally written by a Scotchman : its English origin appears clearly from the phraseology, distinctions and conceits, e. g. the nomenclature of *roundles*, which was never adopted in Scotland, where the simpler phraseology employed in France was in use. The spelling (*quhill*, *quham*, &c.) is certainly often Scotch, but for that the Scotch transcriber, Loutfut, is doubtless answerable. Sir William Comyn (or Cumming), of Inverallochy, described in the heading of the poem Marchmont Herald, is best known as Lyon king of Arms from 1512 onwards, an office in which he seems to have immediately preceded Sir David Lyndsay. It is no small indication of the weight attached to Lyon's office, and the sacredness of his person, at that period, that in 1515 Lord Drummond, one of the most powerful of the Scotch nobles of his day, was declared guilty of treason, attainted, and sentenced to confinement in Blackness castle, for giving Comyn a blow with his fist, 'dum eum de ineptiis suis admoneret.' The poem seems to belong to a period later than Nicolas Upton (1440) and the Book of St Albans (1486), but must be earlier than Gerard Legh (1562), John Boswell (1572), and Sir John Ferne (1586), the three principal heraldic writers of the Elizabethan age. No very

old Scotch systematic treatises on Heraldry exist in print, and apparently none in manuscript, though there are numerous books of blazonry and illuminated collections of arms in MS. of the 16th century. Mackenzie in the 17th, and the more elaborate Nisbet in the 18th century, are the great Scotch authorities. Loutfut the transcriber had probably not been very thoroughly instructed in the science of arms, as he has mistaken words, and made blunders of copyism to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to unravel the meaning of the text.

l. 46. 'Aglot,' a misreading for annulet, the usual difference for a fifth son. The 'eaglet,' or young eagle, for which the transcriber has taken the word, is a common bearing in English heraldry, though not one of the recognized marks of cadency.

l. 51-53. The mention of the settlement of Britain by Brutus is sufficient proof of the English origin of the poem. From the 14th century downwards, one of the principal points on which the hotly-contested question of Scottish independence was supposed to hinge, was whether the English story of the colonization of Britain by the sons of the Trojan hero Brutus was true or false. It was stoutly denied by the Scots, who traced the foundation of their nationality up to the Greek Gathelus and his wife Scotsa, the daughter of Pharaoh who protected the infant Moses; and no Scotsman of the 15th or 16th century would have given his *imprimatur* to the Brutus story.

l. 64-70. Four colours are proper, being pure colours: purpure, being a mixed colour, is less proper though 'suffered' in arms: an assertion to be found in nearly similar words in various old French and Spanish as well as English works on arms. Numerical conceits were greatly in favour among the old heralds, and are a key to half the pedantries and anomalies that have crept into heraldic nomenclature and classification. *Four* and *fifteen* are numbers especially favoured by the author of this poem—and the impropriety of purpure is set forth in order to show four to be the proper number of colours. A great many of the old writers on arms, including particularly Dame Juliana Berners and Gerard Legh, favour nine above all other numbers. It was three times the number of the Trinity,—there were nine virtues, nine orders of angels, nine muses, nine beatitudes, nine male worthies, and nine female worthies. The Book of St Albans says: 'This lawe of armys was founded on the IX order of angellys in heven encrownyd with precyous stonys of colour and of vertues dyvers. Also of theym are fygyured the colours in armys.' Dame Juliana Legh, and other writers, to obtain their nine tinctures (colours and metals), bring in not only purpure, which was rare, but sanguine and tenny, which were never in use. Sylvanus Morgan (1661), on the other hand, inclines to reject purpure altogether, while Spelman exalts it above every other tincture. One of the results of this determination to resolve everything to nine, was the addition by Legh to the six marks of cadency in actual use, of the rose, crossmoline, and double quarterfoil, which were never really used. They are again rejected in the latest edition of Legh's 'Accedens,' as also by Bosswell: but are nevertheless retained in many of the modern elementary works on Heraldry.

l. 96. One would almost be inclined to think that the word printed 'sic' must have been originally 'pale' rather than fess, or else that 'barris' stands for 'pales'; it seems unlikely that both bar and fess would be enumerated and pale omitted among the four things that 'brekis' arms; a more correct idea, by the way, of the common character of the 'Honourable Ordinaries' than is to be found in most of the old authorities.

l. 104-106. 'Thyse thre termes, Of, And, Wyth, shall not be rehercyd in armis but onys ony of them.'—*Book of St Albans*.

'There are fower wordes, whereof you may not name any of them twise in the blazonne of one cote, & these be they: Of, On, And, With. These may

not be spoken any more than once in one cote : if they be, it is accompted such a fault, as he that committed the same is not worthy to blaze a cote.'—*Gerard Legh*.

l. 111. 'wyndows,' i. e. 'wounds.' Roundles purple are so called by Bosswell, the derivation being obvious. Most heralds prefer the name 'golpes.'

l. 127-134. Of the fifteen lions enumerated, the designations of the first and thirteenth are omitted, doubtless by the transcriber's oversight. As to the eleventh 'copray,' query if tricorporate?

l. 135-142. Of the fifteen crosses mentioned, the third is 'undy.' The fourth, 'paty,' is probably meant for 'patoncée,' formée (identical with patée) being separately enumerated. The specific character of the fifth is omitted; the fourteenth is 'raguly.' Is 'sucylye' (the fifteenth) 'resarcelée'? 'Sarcelée' had been already enumerated as the thirteenth cross.

l. 143-4. 'Verray' must surely stand for 'enurny,' the term used in French and sometimes in English heraldry for a bordure charged with any animal.

l. 152-155. These lines are unintelligible as they stand. It cannot be meant that fleurs-de-lis or pellets should not be named, or their number stated, if there are more than *two*. But if for "ij" we read "viij" the sense is at once apparent, as we come exactly to the dictum of the old heralds, and the word *eight* is an admissible rhyme to '*rycht*' in the succeeding line.

l. 156, 157, are a little obscure. Tortell pellets, according to the nomenclature of some old heralds, would be identical with pellets or roundles sable. If so, but two things are named, not three. Menestrier uses the term "*torteau* = *besant*," for a roundle parted per fess gules and or; and it is conceivable that the herald-poet may mean by *tortaux*-pellets, roundles parted per fess gules and sable: but in any view there seems little point in this passage.

l. 158-160 are also a little unsatisfactory. Fusils, mascles, and lozenges are of course things 'like utheris even'—but why should fusils, when multiplied in number, be called mascles? If however for the words 'fussewis,' 'masklewis,' in l. 159, and 'losengis' in l. 160, we read *fusilly*, *mascally*, *lozengy*, the sense is clear, viz. if there be many fusils, mascles or lozenges, blazon the field fusilly, mascally or lozengy.

l. 165. 'pictes,' i. e. pikes.

l. 166-169. This passage, though rather unintelligible as it stands, evidently refers to the division of the shield by partition lines, a subject which has been made the theme of much obscure pedantry by the early heralds, whose distinctions are by no means exactly observed by the poet. What 'glondes' stands for, I cannot make out. Two modes of dividing the field called 'pynnyons,' are given in the Book of St Albans, of which the latter is 'cheverounce, and that may be clawry, counterly, quarterly, gerery, and byally.' 'Gereri' is 'whan thre cheverounce be togyder or moo,' corresponding to our gyronny of six or of eight. 'Byally,' the word which appears as 'belly' in l. 169, is 'whan a barre is between two cheffrounce,' another variety of the gyronny of six of later heralds. l. 168 seems to say that a *partition line* may (as well as a leg or head) be 'raschit,' or erased. A line dancetté, or sometimes with indentations more like those of an erased head or leg, is called 'rasit' or erased by Upton, Dame Juliana, and Sir John Ferne. 'Gerondy' is, according to the Book of St Albans, 'gereri' (or gyronny of nine) with a fessitarget (i. e. an escutcheon of pretence) in the centre of the shield. 'Verry,' or vairé, is by the same authority enumerated, not as a fur only, but as a mode of parting the shield 'when the field is made like gobolettys of dyvers colours.' Along with checky and undy, it is enumerated as one of the 'Coat armoures grytty.'

Occlebe,

[*Laud MS 735 (formerly K. 78), Bodl. Libr.*]

¶ Of pridd & of waste clothyng of lordis mene,
which is A-zens her Astate.¹ [No. 12.]

[leaf 67]

¶ I. wate wele, sone, of me þus wilt þou think :

“This old doted greseþ hold hym¹ wyse ;

He wenyþ make in my hert synke

His lewde clappe, of which I sett no prys.

He is A nobuþ prechour¹ as [I] devyse !

Greet noys hath þurgh his chymyng lyppes drye ;

This day owt past the dewle in his ye.”

My son, to this
complaint of
mine you'll say,
'This old fool of a
grizzle thinks
himself very wise,
but I don't mind
his stupid
clapper!'

¶ But thogh y hold *and* hore be now, sone myn,

And pore be my clothing¹ And Aray,

And not so wyde A gwonē As is thyn,

So smaþ y-pynchyd, ne so fressþ *and* gay ;

My rede, in hap, 3ett the profyte may ;

And likly, þat þow demyst for foly,

Is g[r]etter¹ wisdom¹ þan þou canst Aspy.

8 However, though
I am hoar and
poor,

12 [leaf 67, back]
my counsel may
profit you.

¶ Vndir An olde pore Abyte regneth ofte

Grete vurtew, thogh it mostre poorely ;

And wher¹ as grete Aray is vp-on loft,

Vice is but seldom hid ; þat wele wote I.

Butt not reporte, I. pray þ^e Inwardly,

That fressþ Aray y. generally deprave ;

þ^{es} worthi men¹ mow fuþ weel it have.

An old coat often
covers virtue ;

while a fine one
hides vice.

But I don't run
down new
clothes ;

¹ See Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 139 ; and my ed.
of *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, p. x, p. 62, l. 129-32.

- only, it is an
abuse for a man
to wear a scarlet
robe 12 yards
wide, and sleeves
hanging on the
ground, with £20
worth of fur on
'em.
- ¶ Butt þ^{is} me thynkith an) Abusion,
To sene one walke in A robe of scarlet
xij 3erdis wide, with pendaunt slevis down 24
On) the ground, and þ^e furrur þer-in sette,
Amountyng vn-to xx.li. or bette ;
And 3ef he for it payd, hath he no good
Lefte hym wher-with to by hym-self An) hood. 28
- Such a man
- ¶ For thogh he gete forth A-mong the prees,
And ouere-looke euere poore wighte,
His cofre and eke his purs I. trow be peneles ;
He hath no more than he goth yn vp-righte ; 32
For lond, rent, or cateH, he may go lyghte ;
The weghte of hem) shaH not so mych peyse
As doth his gown) ! is such Aray to prayse ?
- It stinks in my
nostrils to see
such a poor
beggar imitate
his lord !
- ¶ Nay sothly, sone, it is aH mys, me thynkith ! 36
So poor A wight his lord to contrefett
In) his Aray ! yn) my conceyt it stynkith !
Certes, to blame bene þ^e lordes grete,
3ef þat, I. durst sey, they her men) lete 40
Vsurpe such lordly Apparayle.
It is not worthy, my child, with-out fayle.
- In old time you
could tell a Lord
by his dress ;
but now you
hardly can.
- ¶ Some [tyme] A-farre men) myghte lordes know
By her Aray from) oþer folk, or now. 44
A man) shaH stodye or musyn) now A long throw
Which is which. O lordes ! it sittes to 3ow !
Amend this ! for it is for 3our prow.
3ef by-twen) 3ow and 3our men) no defference 48
Be [in] þyn) Aray, lesse is 3our reuerence.
- [leaf 68]
Another great
waste is, to use a
yard of broad
cloth in a man's
tippet.
- ¶ Also þer is another newe Iett,
A fowle wast of cloth, and excessyf :
Ther goth no lasse in A mannes typett 52
þan) of brode cloth A 3erd, be my lyf !
Me thynkith þ^{is} A verrey indultyf
Vn-to þ^e stelth. were hem) of hempen) lane !
For stelth is medid with A chekelew bane. 56
- It incites to
stealth, and
Hempen Lane.

- ¶ Let euere lorde his Awn men defende
 Such gret Aray ; And þan, on my peryñ,
 This lande within A while soon shañ Amende.
 Now, in goddes name, put it in exile ! 60
 Hit is synne outrageous And vyle !
 Lordis ! if 3e 3our' Astate *and* honour'
 Loven, flemyth this vicious errour' !
- ¶ What is A lord *with-oute* his mene ? 64
 I. putt case, þat his foos hym Asayle
 Sodenly in þ^e strete : what helpp shañ he
 Whos sleeves encombrous so syde trayle,
 Do to his lorde ? he may hym not Avayle ! 68
 In such A case he nys but A woman ;
 He may not stande hym *in-stede* of a man).
- ¶ His Armes twoo have righte y-now to don),
 And sumwhat more, his sleeves vp to hold. 72
 The tayllours, y trowe, mote her'-after sone
 Shape in þ^e feld ; þ^{ei} shuñ not shape *and* folde
 On her' boord, þogh þ^{ei} neuer so fayn wolde ;
 The cloth þat shañ be in A gown wroghte, 76
 Take an hole cloth is best, for lasse is noghte.
- ¶ The skynner' vn-to þ^e felde mote Also ;
 His hous in london is so streyt *and* scars
 To don his crafte. sum tyme it was not so. 80
 O lordes ! 3eve 3e vn-to 3our' men her' pars
 That so don), and queynt hem bett *with* mars,
 God of bateñ ! he loveth non Aray
 That hurtith manhod at preffe or Assay. 84
- ¶ Who now most may here on his bak at ons
 Off cloth And furrou', hath a fressh renoun) ;
 He is 'A lusty man' clepyd for the nones.
 Butt drapers And eke skynners in þ^e town) 88
 For such folke han A speciañ orison'
 That florissgid is with curses here *and* there,
 And Ay shañ tiñ þ^{ei} be payd of her' gere.
- Every Lord
 should forbid
 such array to
 his men.
- Suppose a Lord
 is attacked in
 the street.
 What help can a
 man with these
 wide sleeves
 give him ?
- The man's only
 a woman !
- His arms have
 more than enough
 to do in holding
 up his sleeves.
- Tailors 'll soon
 be obliged to cut
 out their clothes
 in a field.
- And Skinners
 must take to
 fields too for
 their craft.
- Lords, make your
 men know Mars
 better !
- Whoever has
 most cloth on his
 back is called 'a
 lusty man.'
- [leaf 68, back]
 But don't the
 drapers curse him
 till he pays for
 his gear !

Whilom, small dress,	¶ In day[e]s olde, whan smaȝ Apparaȝ	92
	Suffised vn-to hy Astate or mene,	
full households;	Was grete howsholde stuffid with vitaiȝ;	
now, lean households,	But now howsholdes be fuȝ scars and lene,	
	For Aȝ þ ^e good þat men may repe and glene,	96
outrageous array,	Waystid is in outrageous Aray,	
	So þat howsoldis men ne holde may.	
but hungry bellies.	¶ Pride haȝ weel levere bere An hungry maw	
	To bed, þan lak of Aray outrage;	100
	He no price settith by mesures law,	
	Ne takith of hym cloth, [ne] mete, ne wage;	
Moderation's gone a pilgrim-age.	Mesure is owt of land on pilgrmage;	
	Butt I. suppose he shaȝ restore as blyve,	104
	For verrey nede wol vs þer-to dryve.	
As Lords set the fashion,	¶ Ther may no lord take vp no new gyse,	
	Butt þat A knafe shaȝ þ ^e same vp take.	
let Lords wear quiet gowns, as of old;	þan, ȝef lordes wolden in this wisse	108
	For to do such gownes for hem make	
	As men did in old tyme, I. vndirtake	
other folk would follow, and give up costly extravagance.	The same get wold vp be take and vsyd,	
	And aȝ þ ^e costlew owtrage refusid.	112

[Follows:—**Nota bene** þ^e good duke of loncastre. [N^o] 13.

¶ Off lancastre duke Iohn whos sayle in heven.]

Tippet, l. 52, p. 106. ‘*Tippet*. The pendent streamer from the arm (p. 98), the extra cape or covering for the shoulders. The long pendant from the arm (See *Liripipe*).

“On holydayes before her he wold go

With his *tippet* bound about his head.”

Chaucer: Reeve's Tale;’ in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 598.

‘To the pendent streamers from the hood were now added others from the elbow. They first appear as narrow elongations from the sleeve of the upper-tunic or cote-hardie; they afterwards assume the form of long narrow strips of white cloth, and were called *tippets*, generally reaching from the elbow to the knee, or lower.’—*ib.* p. 98.

EXTRACT FROM

Sir Peter Idle's Directions to his Son,

(Camb. Univ. Lib. MS, Ee 4, 37.)

- Lete thy tonge not clakke as a mille,
 Medle not of eche mannes matere ;
 Kepe within thi breste that may be stille ;¹
 In tauernes also, not clappe ne clater.
 Wade not so depe into the water
 But þat þou may com out at thyñ owne plesir,
 And not tabide thyñ enemys leisour².
- Therefore be not talewyse in no manere ;²
 In worde be ware, it is harde to triste ;
 Telle neuer the more, though þou moche hire ;
 Kepe in cloos, as tresour³ in cheste.
 And be þou lowely and honest
 To riche and pouere, in worde and dede,
 And then thy name to worshyp shall sprede.
- ³ What man þou serve, Loke þou hym drede ;
 His goode as thyñ, þou kepe and spare ;
 Lete neuer thy will thy witte ouerlede ;
 Be lowly in seruice, and love his welfare ;
 And if þou wilt be out of drede and care,
 Restreyne and kepe well thy tonge :
 Thus, childre, lerne while ye be yonge.
- Be true in worde, werke, and dede,⁴
 And flee doublenes in all wyse.
 Throghe all the worlde in lengthe and brede,
 Gretter vertues can no man devise,
 And sonnest to worship causeth mañ to rise.
- Don't let your
tongue clack
like a mill,
 4 or clatter in
taverns.
 8 Don't be
censorious.
 12 Be lowly and
respectful.
 16 Take care of your
master's goods
as your own.
 20 Restrain your
tongue.
 24 Flee doubleness.

¹ What ought to be kept quiet.² See The Wise Man in *Babees Book*, p. 49, l. 26.³ Compare lines 5—7 of p. 34 of *Babees Book*.⁴ See *Babees Book*, p. 19, l. 39.

Don't invent stories.	Be not Autour also of tales newe, For callyng to rehersaill, lest þou it rewe.	28
	Al-so, sone, this lesson y the leere :	
Mind what you say to people :	To whom þou speke, haue goode mynde, And of whom, how, when, and where ;	
a friend now may be a foe to-morrow.	For now a frende, thus sone unkynde. Therefore, wher euer þou Ride or wende, ¹ Speke cloos all thyng, as thombe in fiste, And euer be ware of hadd ^d -y-wyste.	32
Joke with your equals only.	² If thou shalt borde, Iape <i>with</i> thy peere, And leve thy pleye whan it is beste,	36
Put up with a hard word.	And suffre a grete worde, for manere ; For better is the tree þat bowe þan breste ; It is an unclene birde defouleth his neste ;	40
Learn courtesy and virtue.	Therefore, as a gentilmañ lerne curtesie and vertu ; All honour' and worshipp therof shall sue.	
Don't laugh when your mates are rebuked.	Thoughþe thy feelowe in defaute be founde, Make therof no laugheng, sporte, ne Iape ; For ofte tymes it doith rebounde Vppon hym þat list to crie and gape. Vse not to scorne and mocke as an Ape ; For he þat list suche folies for to vse,	44 48
Keep your clothes clean,	Looke, suche cloth yng as þou shalt weere, Keepe hem as clenly as þou can, ³ And all the Rememant of thy geere ;	52
(for they oft make a man,) and as pure as flour bolted from the bran.	For cloth yng ofte maketh mañ. ⁴ Be as pure as flour taken fro the branñ In all thy cloth yng and al þyn arraye ; But goo not to ouer nyce gay.	56

¹ ? for Kepe. ² Cp. lines 13—16, p. 34 of *Babees Book*.

³ See *Babees Book*, l. 161-8.

⁴ See Cotgrave's "Graue clothes make dunces often seeme great clarkes" (under *fol*), *Babees Book*, Pt. II., p. 72, col. 2.

NOTES TO QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACHADEMY.

p. 3. *Sir John Cheke, and English*.—And here I must add, that he laboured much in the restoration of our English language. Dr Wyllon asserted, that he had better skill in our English speech, to judge of the phrases and properties of words, and to divide sentences, than any else had that he knew; and that he was thought, by some judicious men, greatly to have improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the Greek, to read it into English: whereby he did not only give a clearer understanding unto the author, but enabled his hearers the better to judge of the things, and to perfect their tongue and utterance, as was remembered before.”—*Strype's Life of Cheke*, p. 162.

p. 6. *Statute touching Multiplication*.—The statute alluded to is 5 Hen. IV. cap. 5.—“It is ordained and stablished, That none from henceforth shall vse to multiply Gold or Silver, nor use the Craft of *Multiplication*: And if any the same do, and be thereof attaint, that he incur the Pain of Felony in this Case.” ‘*Multiplication of Gold or Silver*, the Art of encreasing those Metals, which in the Time of K. Henry IV was presum'd possible to be effected by means of Elixirs, or other Chymical Compositions, and therefore forbidden to be put in Practice, under Pain of being liable to the Punishment of Felony, by a Statute made in the fifth Year of his Reign.’—*Kersey's Phillips*, ed. 1706.

p. 7. *Dispensation against the Statute of Roges*.—“Fencers” are mentioned in the list of persons who are to be deemed “Roges and Vacaboundes,” in 14 Eliz. cap. 5. sec. 5 (A. D. 1572): “and all Fencers, Bearewardes, Comon Players in Enterludes, and minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme, or towards any other honorable Personage of greater Degree.”

p. 7. *Bandora*. A large instrument of the lute kind, with six strings of wire, invented in 1562, says Hawkins, *Hist. Mus.*, by John Rose, citizen of London, dwelling in Bridewell. Heywood, in his *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, compares a lady's hair to “bandora wires.” The Bandora was much used in Elizabeth's reign, especially with the Cittern, to which it formed the appropriate base.—*Chappell's Popular Music*, i. 224, note a; ii. 776. ‘The name of the instrument is from the *πανδουρα*, which the Greeks borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. That was also a long-necked instrument of the same kind, but with three gut strings. This is called “a Guitar” by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in his *Ancient Egyptians*’ (Mr Chappell's MS. Note). The *Cittern* was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the 18th century, but had only four double strings of wire, that is, two to each note. The *Lute* has been superseded by the guitar, though in tone it is decidedly superior to the guitar, being larger, and having a convex back nearly resembling the vertical section of a pear. It had virtually six strings, because, although the number was 11 or 12, five at least were doubled; the first, or treble, being sometimes a single string.—*Chappell*, i. 101-2.

p. 8. *Marte*. ‘He alludes to the foreign Book-Fairs.’—H. ELLIS.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

NOTE.—Where two numbers occur, as 96/76, the first refers to the page, the second to the numbered line on that page. The above reference will be p. 96, l. 76 of the Poem on Heraldry.

- ABROCHE, 79/3, 'To set abroche,' to tap.
- Abusion, 106/22, abuse.
- Aduert, 97/88, 98/132
- Aduertence, 79/12, 'Hathe none aduertence' = gives no attention.
- Aduoure, 29, 30. Patron. *See* Avowry and note, p. 30.
- Aglot, 95/46, annulet. *See* note, p. 95, 103.
- Alleage, 3, Allege, refer to, quote.
- Allonli, 66/24, only, alone.
- Amathis, 96/76, amethyst.
- Ambes ase, 81/52, the two aces, the lowest throw in the dice; bad luck.
'Your bagges be not filld with *ambes ace*.' Chaucer, 4544.
- And, 29, if.
- And, in Heraldry, 97/104-6, and note, p. 103.
- Apallyd, 83/119. Ale appallyd = weak or thin Ale = small beer.
- Appose, 3, to question, pose.
'Whon þe peple him *a-posed* with a peny in þe Temple.'
P. Plow. Pass. I., 45. Ed. Skeat.
- Armit, 99/161, armed of a different colour from the rest of the body;—said of animals generally.
- A-sele, 80/16, to seal; to stamp.
'All Brewsters and Gannokers [to] selle a gallon [of] ale, of the best, be measure *a-selyd*, for 1*l.* ob.' *P. Parv.*, p. 186, note.
- A-sesythe, 83/135. The *Harl.* MS. probably gives the correct reading—*ensealed*.
- Assaye, 13, 17, 'tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it.'
- Asterte, 97/89?
- Asur, 96/66, azure, one of the heraldic colours. 'Asur, the saphir set,' 96/75
- Attemperance, 65/11, moderation, temperance.
- Audur, 86/16, either.
- Avowry, 33. Cognizance, badge, distinction. *See* note, p. 30.
- Awcomistrie, 6, alchemistry, alchemy.
- Awles, 85/17; 88/6, aweless; without reverence.
- Awndi, 99/137, undeé, wavy; a kind of cross in heraldry. *See* note, p. 104.
- Awne, 47/112, own.
- Awreke, 68/19, avenged.
- Bandora, 7. A kind of lute with six strings. *See* note, p. 111.
- Barbe, 26, a hood, or muffler, which covered the lower part of the face.
- Barris, 97/96, bars: a bar is an ordinary which crosses the shield horizontally: it occupies one-fifth of the field.

- Barves, 30.
- Bastone, 98/118, baton; a bar on an escutcheon, usually denoting bastardy.
- Batone, 99/139 ? *Cross patoncée*; i. e. a cross fleurie expanded. See note, p. 104.
- Bawdkyn, 35, a precious kind of stuff.
- Belly, 100/169, Byally is when a bar is between two chevrons. See note, p. 104.
- Belwedyr, 84/147, bell-wether.
- Bendis, 98/113, bends; a bend is an ordinary crossing the shield diagonally from the dexter chief to the sinister base.
- Besentis, 98/109, a circle in *or*, i. e. gold, representing the coin a bezant.
- Beste, 29, beast, i. e. crest. See note, p. 37.
- Bestiall, 100/194, pertaining to animals. Not used in a bad sense.
- Bestly, 100/177, of beasts.
- Better, 19; 58/7, a superior in rank.
- Billetis, 100/166; a billet is a bearing of a rectangular oblong figure.
- Blawmanger, 90, blanchmange.
- Blyve, 108/104, quickly.
- Bookish, 4, bookish circumstances = rules found in books; theories.
- Borias, 81/54, boreas, the north wind.
- Borowurd, 68/14, borrowed.
- Botand, 99/139, ? a kind of cross in heraldry.
- Braydythe, 82/86, 'Whos promys braydythe on duplicite' = whose promise is founded on duplicity.
- Brownste, 81/54, burnt, brunt.
- Bryste, 50/188, bright, showy.
- Bwn, xiii, Bum. See *Jamieson*.
- Bye, 62/184, 'Set þem not bye.' To honour. He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes. *Psa. xv. 4, P. B. vers.*
- Byteres, 91, bitterns.
- Callot, 40/29, a scold or drab.
- Cambatand, 98/134, a kind of lion in heraldry. Two rampant lions, face to face, are said to be *combatant*.
- Cambrel, 43/144, gambrel, a crooked piece of wood used by butchers. See note, p. 43.
- Canne, 60/124, can, a vessel.
- Canne, 58/76, knowest.
- Canonrie, 4, gunnery.
- Cassidone, 96/77, chalcedony.
- Certeayne, 30, a certeyne of innocents = a certain number of children.
- Chalain, xx, ? claim.
- Chare de wardon, 91. ? Apple marmalade. See note 2, p. 91.
- Chekelew, 106/56. The Digby MS, according to Halliwell, reads *chokelew*; choking, strangling.
- Cheveroune, 97/96, chevron, an honourable ordinary in heraldry, representing two rafters of a house meeting at the top.
- Childe, 34, shield.
- Chimice, 5, chemical.
- Chyffe, 79/9, chief.
- Clappe, 105/4, chatter.
- Clowrys, 81/44, bareyne clowrys = barren fields.
- Comodities, 10, advantages.
- Connynge, 69/50, knowledge.
- Contacowre, 66/36, a quarrelsome person.
- Conterpace, 100/191, ? counterpoise; weigh, ponder over, consider.

- Convallit, 93/2, to increase, grow strong.
- Copy, 98/132, *couped*. When a portion of any animal is cut clean off, it is said to be *couped*. See next.
- Copray, 98/131, one of the kinds of lions used in heraldry. Query *coupé*, Fr. See note, p. 104.
- Cornfyfyn ? xx.
- Coronell, ix (Span.), Colonel.
- Costlewe, 108/112, costly.
- Costrel, 38. *Costrel*, bottle-holder, attendant; from Costrell, a bottle of earth or wood, having ears by which it was suspended at the side. "A youth, that, following with a *costrel*, bore
The means of goodly welcome, flesh and wine."—*Tennyson*.
Webster's Dict. by Mahn.
- Cottage, 38, doing cottier's work.
- Couente, 79/2, convent, company.
- Courne, 49/148, corn. See Stryte.
- Conter changit, 98/132, counter-changed. *Counter-changed*, in heraldry, is when there is a mutual changing of the Colours of the Field and Charge in an Escutcheon, by reason of one or more Lines of Partition.—*Gloss. Angl. Nov.*
- Creame boylle, 91, boiled cream.
- Cowert, 98/133, coward. One of the kinds of lions in heraldry; a lion with its tail between its legs.
- Crache, 58/63, scratch.
- Cressent, 95/44. A crescent in heraldry is the half-moon with the horns turned upward. A second son differences his arms with a crescent.
- Crosolat, 99/139, crosslet, one of the kinds of crosses used in heraldry; it has each of its limbs crossed.
- Crustades, 90, a dish in cookery.
- Crysdome, 57/26, Christendom.
- Cryspes fryez, 91, fried crisps or batter-cakes. The recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 99, is:
xxvi. For to make cryppys. Nym flour and wytys of eyryn, sugur other hony, and sweyg togedere, and make a batour: nym wyte grees, and do yt in a posnet, and cast the batur thereyn, and stury to thou have many [till it will run into lumps, I suppose, *Pegge*: ? till thou have mixture], and tak hem up, and messe hem wyth the frutours, and serve forthe. Cp. 'crespes et vielz sucre,' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 92; 'pastés de chappons, et crespes,' *ib.* p. 94; and the recipes for making 'crespes' and 'Crespes à la guise de Tournay,' *ib.* p. 226.
- Cuchand, 98/129, couchant; lying down, but with the head erect.
- Cytterne, 7, 111, a musical instrument something like a guitar.
- Decree, 23, 25, degree, rank.
- Defferent, 95/43. A distinction. See note 1, p. 95.
- Delice, 95/47, = de-lis, fleur-de-lis.
- Delphes, 100/165; a delf in heraldry is a square borne in the middle of an escutcheon, supposed to represent a square rod or turf; an abatement of honour. See *Bailey*.
- Demolyn, 99/141, a kind of cross used in heraldry: *a cross moline* has its extremities formed like a *fer de moline* or mill rind; i. e. each limb is divided at the end.
- Departysown, 84/151, separation.
- Deprave, 105/20, run down: speak lightly of.
- Destreche, 53/30, ? constrain.
- Det, 96/74, ? Of debt, duly, necessarily. *P. Parv.*
- Devid, 98/117, divide.
- Dewle, 105/7 ? Dewle or devylle, Diabolus. *P. Parv.*

- Dext, 35, desk, the Litany or fald-stool.
- Domesman, 88/3, doomsman; judge.
- Domusmane, 85/14, doomsman; judge.
- Dormand, 98/130, asleep, with its head resting between its legs; *dormant*.
- Doucetis, 91, small custards or pasties.
- Dowle, 32, dole, or mourning.
- Drapers, 107/88.
- Dronglew, 82/91, drunken.
And is not *dronkeleuh* ne deynous.
P. Plow. Pass. ix. 75. ed. Skeat.
- Dyaburde, 92, diapered.
- Egretys, 91, egret, a kind of heron.
Halliwel.
- Elenge, 66/5. This word is still heard in Kent, where the meaning is lonely, or solitary. In *P. Plow.* we meet with it as an adverb:—
Alisaundre, that al wan
Elengliche ended.
P. Plough. 7531. ed. Wright.
- Emeraut, 96/76, emerald.
- Endorsit, 98/131, endorsed in heraldry is when two lions are borne in an escutcheon rampant, and turning their backs to each other: *ad-dorsed*.
- Endosyd, 79/8, endorsed.
- Enfamynynd, 80/36, hungry.
- Engrelit, 99/136, engrailed; indented with curved lines.
- Erast, 101/217, chiefly, firstly.
- Erneful, 66/5, yearning, anxious.
- Exigente, 79/4, ? difficulty.
- Exquisitely, 7, well; in a superior manner.
- Fage, 81/66, to deceive by falsehood or flattery.
- Faill, 12, a woman's upper garment.
- Fanyng, 34, ? refers to the *ban-ners* being held.
- Farsed, 84/160, filled, stuffed.
- Feces, 98/113. Fesses are bands drawn horizontally across the centre of an escutcheon.
- Feir, } 99/137, 140, company.
Fere, } See note 1, p. 99.
- Felle, 94/16. Fell and wit, cleverness and intelligence.
- Fene, 87/20, to feign or fancy.
- Fess, for *sic*, 98/96. ? fess: see note, p. 103, on l. 96.
- Ffesaunte, 90, pheasant.
- Ffet, 99/150, fess?
- Ffrumenty with Veneson, 90, cp. 'Desserte: fromentée et venison.' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 108. Again at the wedding of maistre Jehan de Hautecourt: 'Fromentée, venoison, poires et noix. *Nota* que pour la fromentée convendra trois cens œufs,' *ib.* p. 121. Also, p. 97, &c. (See the Index.)
- Ffruter lumbarde, 92, fritters à la Lombarde, an ancient dish. See the recipe for *Leche Lombard* in *Babees Book* Index, p. 95, col. 2, from *Forme of Cury*, p. 36; and see *Nares* under *Lumber*; also *Frutour lumbert*, at an Oxford dinner, 1452 A.D. *Reliq. Ant.* i. 88.
- Fichye, 99/140, crois fichye means a cross fitchée, that is, having the lower limb pointed.
- Flarait, 99/138, *fleurie*, a cross *fleurie* is a cross with fleurs-de-lis issuing from the limbs; but a cross *fleurettée* may be intended. They are almost identical.
- Florate, 99/155?
- Fold, 98/122, folk.
- Foltysse, 81/53; foltishe, 82/90; 83/120, foolish.
- Foreman, 25

- Forten, 63/215, fortune ; happen.
 Fourmes, 33, forms, seats.
 Fovrmie, 99/140, formée. A cross-formée is a cross small in the centre and widening towards the extremities.
 Foyes, 61/170, foes.
 Foyoun, 84/148, nourishment. 'The natural juice or moisture of the grass.'—*Halliwel*.
 Frary, 79/6, friary.
 Fremde, 44/22, a stranger.
 Frontlet, 26, a forehead band.
 Frow, 39/6, fro, from.
 Furnishes, 6, furnaces.
 Fussewis, 99/158, fusils. A fusil in heraldry is an elongated lozenge. See note, p. 104.
 Gase, a gase, 46/61 ; to gaze, or a-gazing.
 Gelee, 90, jelly.
 Gentrice, 102/232, gentry.
 Gerondy, 100/169. Gyronny, covered with gyrons, or divided so as to form several gyrons ; said of an escutcheon. See note, p. 104.
 Geton, 29. 'Getoun, a banner, properly two yards in length.' See p. 29, note.
 Girphinne, 99/163, griffons.
 Gittovnis, 93/10, Getoun, a banner, properly 2 yards in length : p. 29, note.
 Glondes, 100/167 ? (See note, p. 104.)
 Goldy, 96/73, 'Stonne goldy, as thopasis' = gold-coloured stone as the topaz.
 Golpes, 104/5.
 Gordoll, 40/41, girdle.
 Goulis, 96/66, gules ; one of the heraldic colours : red. Goulis ruby, 97/92.
 Graunte chare, 92. See note 2, p. 92.
 Gre, 101/212, degree, rank.
 Greis, 101/210. 'Greis thre,' three orders.
 GreseH, 105/2, a grizzle, a grumbler.
 Gryce, 39/16, a young pig : 'a nantyny gryce,' a Saint Anthony's pig.
 Guidon, 32, a kind of standard. See p. 29, note.
 Gyglot, 45/49, a giddy romping girl.
 Habattes, 33, habits.
 Hady-wist, 42/120, 110/35 = had I wist, that is, 'Had I known,' I wouldn't have done it ; an expression of regret.
 Hafter, 87/41. See note 3, p. 87.
 Hallow, 11, to halloo.
 Harowlde, 8, herald.
 Harrowldrie, 8, heraldry.
 Hatrent, 101/226, hatred.
 Haute grece, 90, Capon of, high fat ; very fat capon.
 Hawe, 84/148, haue.
 Hempen Lane, 106/55, the gal-lows.
 Heronne-sewis, 99/147, herons.
 Heronsewe, 90, 91, the heron or heronshaw.
 Heroune, 99/144, heron.
 Heþene, hence.
 Hewe, 68/21, hew, chop (as chips will fly into your eye).
 Hewmatis, 100/166. Humettée in heraldry is a term applied to a chevron : a cross *humettée* is one of which the limbs do not extend to the limits of the shield.
 Hoddys, 33, hoods.
 Holbeardes, 5, halberds.
 Horlde, 57/40.
 Hote, 65/18, promise.

- Hothe, 54/81, oath.
- Hurtis, 98/111, hurtis, in heraldry, are roundels azure.
- Hye, 63/225. In hye, quickly.
- I, 95/51, in.
- Iangelynge, 44/22, 66/9, jangling.
- Iett, 106/50, device, fashion.
- Iettyng, 66/9, Jutting, strutting, proud.
- Indenturis, 100/166, indentations. In heraldry there are two sorts distinguished by the largeness of the teeth; the smaller are said to be *indented*; the larger *dancettée*.
- Indultyf, 106/54. Halliwell glosses this word 'Indulgence; luxury:' its meaning clearly is inducement, incitement, which follows naturally from the meaning, 'license.'
- Inginer, 4, engineer.
- Invre, 70/84, inure, accustom, associate.
- Iowe, 80/35, jaw.
- Knawe, 80/40, knave.
- Labelle, 95/44, label; in heraldry a fillet with pendants, or points, usually three. An eldest son differences his arms with a label.
- Lamber, 84/142, lambs.
- Leche, 42/102, a physician.
- Leche dalmayn, 90; Leche damasque, 91; Leche fforee, 90; Leche lumbarde, 91; Leche maskelyn, 92; Leche rubby, 92. The name of a dish. The term *leche* is applied to those dishes which were served up in slices. See *Prompt. Parv.* and Halliwell, s. v. *leche*.
- Ledis, 101/220, people.
- Leiff, 97/86, leaf (of a book).
- Lene, 85/7, lend.
- Lerid, 65/21, learned.
- Lete lardes, 91. See note 11, p. 91.
- Lewid, 65/21, lewd, ignorant.
- Lifte, 31, left, in opposition to right.
- Linth, 94/30, length.
- Lionne-sewys, 99/147, lioncels; in heraldry a small lion, especially one of several borne in the same coat of arms, is called a lioncel. See note, p. 99.
- Liscenciat, 101/220, licensed, permitted.
- Losingis, 99/158, lozenges: in heraldry a lozenge is a diamond-shaped figure. See note, p. 104.
- Loutyng, 84/155, bowing, stooping.
- Lucyant, xix, bright, shining.
- Lure, 11, to call a hawk or other animal.
- Lyth, 45/38. 'Lith or limb,' a phrase meaning joint or limb, that is, any part of the body.
- Malaparte, 80/37, saucy, bold.
- Male, 84/159, budget, bag, port-manteau.
- Mameny ryall, 91, the name of a dish. See *Babees Book*, p. 53.
- Mansuete, 102/236, gentle.
- Marte, 8, a book fair.
- Mase, 46/62 ? the maze = the greatest news, or wonder. See Halliwell, s. v. *mase*.
- Masklewis, 99/158, mascles. A mascle is a lozenge voided, i. e. a hollow lozenge. See note, p. 104.
- Medid, 106/56, rewarded.
- Mellous, 66/12, to contrast with *meri*, as 'loth' with 'liberal' above it. Medlous, medelus, *Babees Book*, p. 9, 12; meddlesome, troublesome.
- Membrit, 99/162, membered, having a different tint from that of the body;—said of the beak and

- legs of a bird which is not a bird of prey.
- Mene, 48/130, } servants.
Men-eze, 48/125, }
- Merkis, 93/13; 95/54, signs or marks.
- Merl, 95/45, martlet, a bird without feet or beak. A fourth son differences his arms with a martlet.
- Mesaris, 102/234, ? spoilers, ? messers. ? missers (void of).
- Mesures, 108/101, moderations.
- Mewaris, 102/234, movers.
- Militare, 2, military.
- Mold, 100/172, earth, world.
- Molet, 95/45, mullet, i. e. a spur-rowel. A third son differences his arms with a mullet.
- Mordand, 98/129, mordant.
- Morné, 98/133, said of a lion without teeth, claws, or tail.
- Mosellis, 43/149, morsels.
- Mownter in mantell, 92, the name of an ancient dish. ? What.
- Multiplication, 6. See note, p. 111.
- Musyn, 106/45, Muse, pore over.
- Mwyd, vp mwyd, 83/133, mewed up, confined.
- Mys-chewe, 85/5, come to misfortune.
- Myssey, 47/104, to revile, abuse (*mis-say*).
Al-swa þai sal ilkan other wery,
And *myssay* and sclandre God
allemyghty.
Hampole, P. of C. 9424.
- Nantyny, S. Anthony, 39/16.
- Nemyl, 83/108, nimble, capable,
Halliwel s. v. *nemel*.
- Nessche, 64/241, soft.
- Nomer, 98/133. See note, p. 103.
- Nonbles, 90, numbles; the entrails of a deer.
- Nones, 107/87, nonce; the present time, or time being.
- Nyse, 69/33, foolish.
- Nyte, 94/33, deny.
In battle ne in tournament
He *nytyde* us never with naye.
Halliwel.
- Odour, 64/236, 96/69, either.
- Oneste, 63/213, honesty.
- Oneste, 70/72, honest.
- Orped, 66/14, bold.
- Ouer-sene, 49/164, overcome, drunk. 'Almost drunk, somewhat *ouerseene*.' Cotgr. quoted by Halliwell.
- Pale, 62/200. 'By pales or by pale.' ? By palace or by fence; or, by palace or by pales, which often form the park fence.
- Pales, 98/113. A pale is a broad, perpendicular stripe in an escutcheon, equally distant from the two edges and occupying one third of it.
- Panis, Panys, 100/177, 181. Pann, cloth. See note, p. 100.
- Pars, 107/81, parts, duties.
- Passand, 98/128, passant; walking; a term applied to any animal on a shield which appears to walk leisurely.
- Pastye, 58/83, pasty
- Paty, 99/137. A cross patée is a cross small at the centre and widening towards the extremes. See note, p. 104.
- Paust, 32, ? motto.
- Pawlles, 35, palls, cloths of gold.
- Peces, 35, "armyd att all peces" = fully armed.
- Pedigrues, 8, pedigrees.
- Pellett, 99/153, 157. A roundel sable is termed a pellett. See note, p. 104.
- Penselles, 30, 33, small banners.

- Perbend, 98/116, same as bend.
- Per cheveroune, 98/117. *See* Chevron, and note, p. 104.
- Perfess, 98/116. *See* Fess.
- Perl, 96/74, pearl.
- Perpale, 98/114. *See* Pales.
- Perpure, 96/66, purple.
- Persewantis, 101/200, pursuivants.
- Phistiloes, 5, fistulas.
- Pictes, 100/165, ? pikes, *n.*, p. 104. The MS may be read *putes*; if so, Mr H. H. Gibbs would correct it to *pantes*, points; for a *point* is one kind of 'abatement' in arms, and a *Delph* is another.
- Plateis, 98/109. Roundels argent are called plates.
- Plicht, 99/158, placed.
- Poletis, 98/110, pellets; roundels sable are called pellets.
- Pomme, 98/111. A roundel vert is called a *pomme*.
- Popelers, 91, a kind of bird. *See* *Prompt. Parv.*
- Poudringes, 13, 17, bands of ermine, called also miniver. *See* notes, pp. 13, 28.
- Pretens, 80/29, designing, pretending.
- Principate, 3, principality.
- Proper, 95/65, properly so called. *See* note, p. 96, and p. 103.
- Proportis, 96/67, explains, purports.
- Prow, 106/47.
- Prow, 63/218, honour, advantage.
- Prudence, 80/41, prudent.
- Prys, 85/1, 105/4, estimation, value.
- Pulter, 81/43, poulterer.
- Pusancis, 93/5, puissances.
- Quarterlie, 97/98, quarterly. *See* note 3, p. 97.
- Queme, 67/16, pleasure.
- Querellous, 67/16, querulous.
- Querelour, 66/26, complaint, querulousness.
- Queynt, 107/82, acquaint.
- Queynte, 67/16, quaint, cunning, artful.
- Quhyte, xiii, white.
- Quiche, 95/44, which. "Quiche a labelle" = who (bears) a label.
- Ram pand, 98/127, rampant; standing upright on his hind legs, as if attacking a person. Said of an animal.
- Raschit, 94/26, 100/168, erased; torn off, leaving jagged and uneven edges.
- Rawnesse, 2, ignorance, inexperience.
- Reche, 42/100, ? reach, obtain.
- Regalli, 66/27, for *regalty*, royalty, a kingdom; that over which one has the rule.
- Regardand, 98/130, regardant; looking behind or backward.
- Regle, 99/142. *Ragulée*: a cross *ragulée* is a cross with jagged edges.
- Rehete, 62/198, punishment, or blame.
- Reue, 85/4, reeve.
- Revestre, 35, vestry.
- Ring, 101/214, kingdom.
- Roages, 7, rogues. *See* note, p. 111.
- Rondis, 97/107, roundels. *See* note 5, p. 97.
- Roo, 92, rue.
- Rosey, 92, the name of a confection, composed chiefly of milk, dates, spices, &c.—*Halliwel*. Cp. 'un rosé, lait lardé et croutes de lait,' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 95; 'un rosé de lapereaulx et d'oiselets, bourrées à la sausse chaude,' *ib.* p. 97, &c. (*See* the Index to *Le Mén.*)

- Rownyng, 84/155, whispering.
- Rysshewes, 92. See note 6, p. 92. In *Lib. Cure Coc.*, p. 39, we find *rissheus*.
- Sable, 96/66, black. 'Sable, diamont of det,' p. 96/74.
- Saliant, 98/128, salient, represented in a leaping position.
- Salt-saler, 60/148, salt-cellar.
- Sanctes, 33, saints.
- Sarsile, 99/141 ?sarceled, i. e. cut through the middle. 'A *cross cercelée* is a cross which, opening at the end, turns round both ways, like a ram's horn.'—*Bailey*.
- Selake, 45/39, slake, cool.
- Scrooging, xi, crowding, squeezing.
- Seand, 98/129, sejant, or sitting; a term applied to a lion or other animal sitting like a cat.
- Seely, 11, simple, humble.
- Seir, 95/51, several.
- Sekatoures, 85/9, executors.
- Semaka, 90. See p. xvi and p. 90, note 9.
- Semaka fryez, 90. See note 9, p. 90, also p. xvi.
- Sens, 33, to cense.
- Sewer, 17, 25, the officer of the house who set and removed dishes, tasted them, etc.
- Sic, 97/96. Query, the same as *fess*. See note 1, p. 97, and note, p. 103.
- Sight, 67/18, to sigh.
- Signet, 92, cygnet.
- Sigrums, 84/140, a wolf.
"Quod the vox: 'Wo is now there? Iche wene hit is *Sigrim* that ich here.'
'That is soth, the wolf sede,
Ac wat art thou, so God the rede.'" *Vox and Wolf*; ed. Hazlitt.
- Singlare, 100/190, singular, uncommon; 'precyus singlare' = singularly precious.
- Sirculey, 16. Qu. a coronet.
'Cercle in heraldry signifies within a circle, or *diadem*.'—*Bailey*.
- Sittes, 106/46, it sits to you = it pertains to you.
- Skyinner, 107/78, a dealer in skins.
- Sleyghty, 83/138, sly.
- Slope, 24, 28, 36, 'a morning cassock for ladies or gentlemen, not open before,' p. 28.
- Slyued, 25. 'The term (sliven) was often applied to dress. Carr has *sliving*, having the brim or edge turned down.'—*Halliwell*. *Sluie*, *disrumpere*.—Levins, 152.
- Sogettis, 66/28, subjects.
- Spado, 81/47, a castrated animal, an impotent person.
- Speris, 94/16, sees, or inquires.
To other londys wylle y *spere*,
More of awnturs for to here.
Halliwell.
- Spreynte, 80/30, sprinkled.
- Spyre, 63/217, to inquire, ask.
- Statant, 98/127. A lion *statant* is a lion standing in profile and looking before him.
- State, yn a state, 89; in state, or in royal state.
- Sted, 86/10, placed. 'I am stedful heavily' = I am painfully placed or situated.
- Sted, 100/170, stand, consist.
- Sternis, 94/22, stars.
- Stryte, 49/148. Courne be stryte = ? Corn be *strait*, where strait would mean *scarce*.
- Styburne, 82/98, stubborn.
- Sucyllye, 99/142. See note, p. 104.
- Surcourt, 16. A surcoat.
- Sybbe, 44/22, a relative.
- Ta, 61/171, to.
- Tacchez, 66/10, dispositions, habits. Beware of knaves' habits.

- Talewise, 67/19, 109/8, wise in tales.
 Tayllours, 107/73, tailors.
 Tent, 95/45, taken notice, or observe.
Observe, the fourth is a martlet.
 Tente, 58/66, take heed.
 Tergat, 7.
 The, 56/13, thrive, prosper.
 þer-on, 58/62, therein.
 Thofe, 61/169, though.
 Thopasis, 96/73, topazes.
 To, 64/250, 82/101, till.
 To-gid, 97/101, together.
 Tonne, 98/119, the one.
 Tortell, 99/157, tortile, twisted, round. See note, p. 104.
 Tortes, 98/110, 99/157, torteaux, roundels gules are termed torteaux.
 Thour and Thorn, 20. See note 3, p. 20.
 Throw, 106/45. Time.
 Tovny, 96/77, tawny, orange colour.
 Toyllous, 67/19, laborious.
 Trapper, 26, trappings.
 Trauerse, 17. ? A moveable screen. See note 4, p. 17.
 Trayer, 27. ? dresser.
 Valance, 30, 33.
 Verraunce, 86/13, variance, variation.
 Verray, 99/144. Enurné. See note, p. 104.
 Vert, 96/66, one of the heraldic colours; green. 'Vert emeraut,' 96/76, = green, emerald.
 Vmbe-set, 87/23, surrounded, overwhelmed.
 Vmdois, 99/149. ? Um-do = do, or set round; support.
 Vn-Abulle, 57/49, enable.
- Vnkothe, 43/156, unknown.
 Walet, 84/166, wallet.
 Waryn, 83/109, warren.
 Wate, 105/1, know.
 Wer, 58/62, ware, careful, aware.
 Were, 106/55, beware; let them beware.
 Werely, 97/94. 'Werely weidis' = ? worldly garments.
 Werly, 95/54, worldly.
 Werr, 100/177. *Vair*, which is formed by a number of small bells, or shields, of one tincture, arranged in horizontal lines, in such a manner that those in the upper line are opposite to others, of another tincture, below.
 Wesage, 81/65, visage.
 Wnproper, 96/67, improper.
 Women, satires on, 12.
 Worth, 86/11, become, worth of' = happen to, befall, become of.
 Wowed, 88/16, wooed.
 Wreche, 42/104, wrath, anger.
 'Wyne his wreche' = overcome his anger.
 And covere me atte that dredful day
 Til that thy *wreche* be y-passed
 away.—*Halliwel*.
 Wyage 83/117, voyage, journey.
 Wyndows, 98/111, wounds. See note 5, p. 98, and note, p. 104.
 Wysage, 80/37, visage.
 Yard, 89. A wand.
 Ydell-schype, 47/113, idleness.
 Ye, 105/7, eye.
 Yift, 88/3, gift, bribery.
 Yewythe, 80/27, giveth.
 3erne, 52/7, yarn.
 'For yarn that is evil spun
 Evil it comes out at the last.'

INDEX OF NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Abergavenny, Lady, 89 | Brittany, 96 |
| Adam, 93 | Brock, Mr E., xx, xxiv |
| Adams, Mr G. E., xxiv, 28, 37 <i>n.</i> , 93 | Brutus, xx, 95, 103 |
| Ahasuerus, iii | Buchan, Earl of, xxi |
| Albany, Duke of, xxi | Burgeveny, Lady, 89 (Abergavenny) |
| Albany, Regent, 103 | Burghley, Lord, ii <i>n.</i> |
| 'Albert the Good,' 37 <i>n.</i> | Butlet, Baron of Weme, 19 |
| Angus, Earl of, xxi | |
| Anthony, S., 39 | Cæsar, Julius, xx, 95 |
| Arbaldus, xx | Cambridge, x, 10 |
| Arcite, 94 | Camden, viii <i>n.</i> |
| Aristotle, iii, 65 | Canterbury, Abp of, 22, 89 |
| Arthur, xx | Carthaginians, 11 |
| Arundel, Countess of, 89 | Cathaia, viii |
| Ashley, Mrs Catharine, viii | Catherine of Valois, 89 |
| Athens, 93 | Cato, 11 |
| Audley, Lord, 20 | Caxton, xvii |
| Aurelius, 12 | Chappell, Wm., 111 |
| | Charles I., King, 32 |
| Bacchus, 79 | Charles II., 32 |
| Bacon, Sir Nicholas, i | Chaucer, quoted on clerks, x, 3 <i>n.</i> |
| Berners, Juliana, 103, 104 | Cheeke, Sir John, 2, 111 |
| Blackness Castle, 102 | Clarke's <i>Heraldry</i> , 28 <i>n.</i> |
| Bond, Mr, xvi | Clifford, Lady, 89 |
| Boswell, 102 | Clifford, Lord, 20 |
| Bradshaw, Mr H., xxiii | Collier, Mr J. Payne, i |
| Bridewell, 111 | Cornwell, Sir John, 90 |
| Britain, 95 | Cosens, Mr F. W., i <i>n.</i> |

- Cowes, iv
 Craven, 20
 Cummyrn, Sir W., xvii, xxi, 93, 102
 Cussans, Mr, xvi
 Cyprian, 80
 Dartmouth, ii, iv
 Davis, John, ii
 De Lacy, 96, *n.* 1
 Devon, Earl of, 90, *n.* 4
 Douce, 30 *n.*
 Drummond, Lord, xxi, 102
 Dublin, Trin. Coll., xxiii
 Dugdale, 29 *n.*
 Durham, Bp. of, 23
 Edward I., 20
 Edward IV., 62 *n.*
 Egremont, Lord, 19
 Egyptians, 111
 Elizabeth, Queen, 1, iii, 1, 9, 12, 111
 Ellis, Sir H., ii *n.*, xii, 111
 Epaminondas, 3
 Erewfilix, xx
 Eton, viii
 Eve, 93
 Fairholt, 61 *n.*, 105 *n.*
 Ferne, Sir John, 104
 Ffythzhug, Lord, 89 (? Fitzwilliam)
 Flushing, viii
 Froude, Mr ; his Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, ii, vii
 Fyvie, xxi
 Gascoigne, the Poet, viii
 Gathelus, 103
 George III., 37 *n.*
 George IV., 37 *n.*
 George, St, 29 *n.*, 32, 35
 Gilbert, Adrian, ii
 Gilbert, Sir H., ii, iii, viii, ix, xi, xvi
 Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, 62 *n.*
 Greeks, 111
 Greenaway, ii
 Grey, Lord, 89
 Grey, The Mayde, 89
 Grey of Wilton, Lord, 20
 Grostete, Bp., 56, 59
 Gulf Stream, the, iii
 Hakluyt, ii ; quoted, iii, vii, *n.*
 Halliwell, 13 *n.*, 29, 30 *n.*, 79
 Harrison, xi
 Hawkins, 111
 Hay, Margaret, xxi
 Hayes, Mr, quoted, iv, vi, vii
 Hector, xx
 Henry IV., 6, 111
 Henry V., 89, 90
 Henry VII., 29
 Henry VIII., 24
 Hester (Esther, the Book), iii
 Heywood, 111
 Hill, Lord, 37 *n.*
 Homer, iii
 Huntingdon, Countess of, 89
 Hutton, General, xxi
 Idle, Sir Peter, xxii
 India, iii
 Innerlochy, xxi
 Inverallochy, xvii, xxi, 93
 James IV., xxii
 James V., xxii
 Joachim, xx

- Joseph, 93
 Juno, 79
 Kent, xxiii
 Kent, Countess of, 89
 Kent, Duchess of, 37 *n.*
 Kent, Duke of, 37
 Kersey's Phillips (a Dictionary),
 13 *n.*, 111
 Kinnoul, xxi
 Kintyre, xix
 Lacedemonians, 12
 Lacy, De, 96, *n.* 1
 Laing, Mr David, xvii, xxi
 Lancaster, John of, 108
 Latimer, Lord, 19
 Leconfield, Lord, 28 *n.*
 Legh, Gerard, 102, 103
 Lemares, xx
 Leslie, Bp, xxi
 Levien, Mr Edward, xv
 Lincoln, Earls of, 96, *n.* 1
 Lincoln's Inn, 96, *n.* 1
 London, 1, 10, 111
 ——— Bishop of, 22
 Loutfut, Adam, xvii, 102, 103
 Lumby, Mr, xiv
 Lycurgus, 4, 10
 Lydgate, xvi, 79
 Lyndesay, Sir David, xiii, 102
 Mackenzie, George, 103
 Madden, Sir F., 29 *n.*
 Madrid Library, the, i
 Magellan's Straits, iii
 March, Countess of, 89
 March, Earl of, 89
 Marcolf, 79
 Mars, 107
 Mawley, Lady, 89
 Meldrum, Sir W., xxi
 Morgan, Colonel, viii
 Morgan, Sylvanus, 93, 103
 Moses, 103
 Moubrey, Lady (Mowbray?), 89
 Munster, viii
 Murray, Mr J. A. H., xxii
 Neve, Peter Le, 67
 Neville, Lady Alice, 89
 Neville, Sir Richard, 89
 Neville, The Lady, 89
 Newfoundland, viii
 Newhaven, viii
 Nisbet, 103
 Northumberland, Countess of, 89
 Nullatense, 83, 84
 Occleve, xiv, 105
 Oswald, Mr E., i, xxiv. (See
 Part II.)
 Oxford, viii, x, 10
 Oxford, Countess of, 89
 Pace, ix
 Palamone, 94
 Palere, Doctor, xiv, 56
 Parker, Mr Geo., xxii, xxiv
 Paulet, Lord St John, 19
 Pegge, xvi, 90, *n.* 4
 Pharaoh, 103
 Planche, J. R., 28 *n.*
 Plato, 10
 Platt, quoted, iii, vii
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, iii
 Ratclif, Lord Aegremont, 19
 Richard II., 95 *n.*
 Richardson, 95 *n.*
 Ritson, xxiii
 Rome, 11

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Roos, Lady, 89
 Rose, John, xi, 111
 Rossetti, Mr W. M., i, xxiv. (See Part II.)
 Russell's <i>Boke of Norture</i>, 17 <i>n.</i>
 Salisbury Cathedral, 62 <i>n.</i>
 Sandwich, ii
 Scipio, 11
 Scota, 103
 Scots, the King of, 89
 Seeley, Prof. J. R., xi
 Seneca, 11, 82
 Seton, Mr George, xxi
 Shirley, 88
 Skelton, ix
 Somerset, Lady J., 89
 Somerset, Lady M., 89
 Spenser, 95 <i>n.</i>
 Stafford, Countess of, 89
 Stafford, Earl of, 89
 St Alban's, Book of, quoted, 102-4
 St John, Lord, 19
 Strathallan, Viscount, xxi
 Strype, 111
 Stubs, xiii
 Sydney, Sir Henry, vii
 Talbot, Lady, 89</p> | <p>Thebes, 93, 94
 Trogelius, xx
 Troy, xx, 93, 94, 95
 Upton, Nicholas, 102, 104
 Warwickshire, 29 <i>n.</i>
 Webster's Dictionary, 98 <i>n.</i>
 Wellington, Duke of, 37 <i>n.</i>
 Weme, Baron of, 19
 Westminster, 20
 Westmoreland, Countess of, 89
 Wheatley, Mr, xii
 Whitehall, 20
 Wilkinson, Sir Gardner, 111
 William IV., 37 <i>n.</i>
 Willoughby, Lady, 89
 Willoughby, Lord, 89
 Wilton, Lord Grey of, 20
 Winchester, Bp of, 23, 89
 Wood, Mr W. M., xxiv
 Wylson, Dr, 111
 York, Abp of, 22
 York, Duchess of, 89
 York, Duke of, 37 <i>n.</i>
 Zenobia, 12</p> |
|--|--|

GENERAL INDEX.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p> ABC, the, of Aristotle, 65, 66
 Achademy, Queene Elizabethes,
 advantages of the, 10, 11, 12
 Achademy, Queene Elizabethes,
 Notes to, 111
 Alchemy, 6
 Ambition, on, 72
 Arithmetic, 4
 Artillery, the practice of, 4
 Assays, 13, 15
 Astronomy, 5

 Bandora, the, 7, 111
 Bannerets, 18
 Banners to be displayed, 29 <i>n.</i>
 Banquet, courses at a, 92
 Banquet, guests at a, 89
 Barbers' shops, 6
 Baron, a, 15, 17, 18
 Baron, creation of, 19
 Barons, 16, 17, 18
 Baroness, a, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26
 Baronet, a, 17
 Bed, conduct on going to, 63
 Blood Royal, 19
 Book of St Alban's quoted, 102-4

 Children, advice to, 56 </p> | <p> Children, Plato on the education
 of, 9
 Chivalry, 12
 Cittern, the, 7, 111
 Complaint, a, 86
 Coronation Banquet, 89
 Cosmography, 5
 Countess, a, 15, 26
 Courses of a meal, 92
 Courtesy, children taught, 56
 Covetousness, on, 72

 Dancing, 7
 Declamations at Universities, 2
 Dinner, courses of, 90
 Divinity, 6
 Duchess, a, 13, 26
 Duke, a, 13, 14, 27
 Duke, the daughter of, 14
 Dutch (German) language, 7

 Earl, an, 13, 14, 15
 Earl, an, and his family, 16, 27
 Education, the kind of, proposed
 by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 2
 Embattling, 4
 Encamping, 4
 English, study of, in the <i>Acha-</i>
 <i>demy</i>, x, 9 </p> |
|--|---|

- Esquire, definition of an, 38
 Estates, the order of all, 27
 Fees to officers at arms, 37
 Fencing, 7
 Fools, Order of, 63, 79
 Fool's Testament, the, 75
 Fortifications, 4
 French language, 7
 Friends, false, 86
 Funeral, a, in Popish times, 32
 Funeral, the order of a, 24, 29
 Funerals, mourners at, 24
 Geometry, 4
 Governor, advice to a, 72
 Greek language, 2
 Guitar, the, 111
 Gunnery, 4
 Harl. MS 6149 quoted, on the
 origin of arms, xix, xx
 Hebrew language, 2
 Heraldry, 8, 93. Notes on, 102-4
 Honour, on, 72
 House, how to rule one's, 71
 Ills of our time (15th cent.), 85,
 88
 Italian language, 7
 Knight, a, 18
 Knight, wife of, 19
 Ladies, 27
 Languages to be taught, 2
 Latin language, 2
 Law, civil, 6
 Law, common, 9
 Lawyer, common, 6, 7
 Library, the, of the *Achademy*,
 8, 9
 Liveries, 24, 26, 36
 Logic, 2
 Lords, a satire on, 77
 Lords by writ, 19
 Lute, the, 7, 111
 Mapping, 5
 Marchioness, a, 14, 15, 28
 Marquis, a, 13, 15, 16, 27
 Marquis, the daughters of, 16
 Mathematicians, 4
 Meals, conduct at, 58
 Medicine, 5
 Mensuration, 5
 Mercy, on, 72
 Military exercises, 5
 Mining, 4
 Mourners, 24, 36
 Multiplication, statute of, 6, 111
 Music, 7
 Navigation, 5
 Newfoundland, voyage to, iv
 Noblemen, interment of, 34
 Noblemen, liveries for, 24, 36
 Noblemen, warnings for, 75, 77
 Noblewomen, liveries for, 26
 Numbers, favourite, with heraldic
 writers, 103
 Orator, duties of the, 2
 Parents, honour to, 61
 Parliament, order of proceeding
 to, 20
 Peace, Sir H. Gilbert on, 3
 Perspective, 5
 Philosophy, moral, 3
 Philosophy, natural, 4
 Physic, 5

- Physician of the *Achademy*, to
 write annual report, 6
 Pity, on, 72
 Precedence, book of, 13
 Precedence, order of, 20—24
 Pride, 105
 Printers, duties of, to the *Acha-*
 demy, 8
 Prophecy, a, 85
 Proverbs, 68

 Readers, duties of, 9
 Rhetoric, 2
 Riding, 4, 5
 Rogues, statute of, 7, 111
 Rouge Dragon, Notes by, 28, 37

 Satire, a, 77
 School Clerks, not always the
 wisest men, 3
 Schoolmaster, duties of, 2
 Schoolmaster, stipend of, 2
 Sermons in the Academy, 9
 Servants, 25
 Shipbuilding, 5

 Skirmishing, 4, 5
 Sleeves, laced, 62 and note; long
 trailing, 105, 106
 Spanish language, 7
 Supper, courses of, 90
 Surgeons, few good, A.D. 1570, 6
 Surgery, to be taught, 5, 6
 Sword practice, 7

 Testament, the Fool's, 75
 Time, ills of our (15th cent.), 85,
 88
 Translations into English, 9

 Ushers; 2

 Vaulting, 7
 Viscountesses, 17
 Viscounts, 16, 17, 27

 War, of, 3
 Warnings for noblemen, 77
 Washing, 13, 15, 16, 64
 Weapons, use of, 5
 Women, satires on, 12

PART II.

ACCOUNTS OF

Early Italian, German & French Books

ON

Courtesy, Manners, and Cookery.

- I. MR W. M. ROSSETTI'S ESSAY ON EARLY ITALIAN COURTESY BOOKS.
- II. MR E. OSWALD'S ESSAY ON THOMASIN VON ZIRCLARIA AND ANOTHER GERMAN WORK ON COURTESY.
- III. NOTE ON *LE MÉNAGIER DE PARIS*, 1393-4 A.D. BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

ITALIAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

FRA BONVICINO DA RIVA'S

Fifty Courtesies for the Table

(ITALIAN AND ENGLISH)

WITH OTHER

TRANSLATIONS AND ELUCIDATIONS

BY

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI.

TO THE ENGLISH PAINTER
WHO HAS MADE CIVILIZED MANKIND HIS DEBTOR
BY RECOVERING THE PORTRAIT OF

Dante BY Giotto,

THE TWO DII MAJORES OF ITALIAN MEDIEVALISM,

TO THE
BARONE KIRKUP,

MY FATHER'S HONOURED FRIEND AND MY OWN,

I AM PERMITTED TO DEDICATE
THIS SLIGHT ATTEMPT IN A BRANCH OF ITALIAN STUDY
LONG FAMILIAR TO HIMSELF.

W. M. R.

June 1869.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ITALY AND COURTESY	7
BRUNETTO LATINI	8
THE TESORETTO :—EXTRACT	10
FRA BONVICINO DA RIVA	14
THE ZINQUANTA CORTEXIE DA TAVOLA—ITALIAN AND ENGLISH	16
SUMMARY OF THE CORTEXIE	32
FRANCESCO DA BARBERINO	35
THE DOCUMENTI D'AMORE :—EXTRACT	38
THE REGGIMENTO E COSTUMI DELLE DONNE :—EXTRACT ...	45
SANDRO DI PIPPOZZO, GRAZIOLO DE' BOMBAGLIOLI, AND UGOLINO BRUCOLA	56
AGNOLO PANDOLFINI	57
THE GOVERNO DELLA FAMIGLIA :—EXTRACT	57
MATTEO PALMIERI	58
THE VITA CIVILE :—EXTRACT	58
BALDASSAR CASTIGLIONE	60
THE CORTIGIANO :—EXTRACT	61
GIOVANNI BATTISTA POSSEVINI	65
THE DIALOGO DELL' ONORE :—EXTRACT	66
MONSIGNOR GIOVANNI DELLA CASA	66
THE GALATEO :—EXTRACT	68
THE TRATTATO DEGLI UFFICI COMUNI :—EXTRACT ...	74

IN connection with the many samples of English and some French and Latin Courtesy-Books which the pains of other Editors have set before the members of the Early English Text Society, I have been asked to do something to exhibit what Italian literature has to show for itself in the same line. The request is one which I gladly close with ; only cautioning the reader at starting that he must not expect to find in my brief essay any deep or exhaustive knowledge of the subject, or anything beyond specimens of the works under consideration, picked out one here and one there. Italy, it is tolerably well known, was, together with Provence, in the forefront of civilization—or ‘civility,’ as it might here be more aptly phrased—in the middle ages ; and I should not be surprised to learn that, in the refinements of life and niceties of method, the Italy of the thirteenth century, as traceable in her Courtesy-Books, was quite on a par with the France or Germany¹ of the fourteenth, or the England of the fifteenth, and so progressively on. This, however, is a matter which I must leave to be determined by more diligent and more learned researches than my own. The materials for the comparison are now, to some extent, fairly before the editing and reading members of our Society.

As regards date, at all events, Italy is greatly in advance. What is the date of the earliest French Courtesy-Book included in our

¹ As mentioned below, the first German work including something by way of Courtesy-Book, ab. 1210 A.D., *Der Wälsche Gast*, was written by an Italian, Tomasin von Zirclaria.

series? Not far, I presume, from the close of the fourteenth century. What of the earliest English one? About 1450. Against these we can set an Italian Courtesy-Book—or rather a Courtesy section of an Italian book—dating about 1265. Of a date prior to this (the birth-year of Dante), there is little of either prose or poetry in Italian.

The author of our specimen is a man illustrious in the literature of Italy, though comparatively little read for some centuries past—Brunetto Latini; remembered chiefly among miscellaneous readers as the preceptor of Dante, and as consigned by that affectionate but unaccommodating pupil to a very ugly circle of his Hell. There, if we may believe the ‘Poet of Rectitude,’ Ser Brunetto, with a ‘baked aspect,’ is at this moment unremittingly walking under an unremitting rain of fire: were he to pause, he would remain moveless for a century, and the torture of the flames would persecute him in aggravated proportion. On the same authority (which it is futile to fence with), I am compelled to say that Brunetto is the last person from whom one need wish to learn the practice, or as a consequence the theory, of modern or European morals.

However, Brunetto seems to have considered that he had a gift that way. Both his leading works may be termed moral-scientific treatises. The longer of the two, the *Tesoro*, was written in French prose, and is much of a compilation from classic authors in some sections. It had hitherto only been preserved to the public in an old Italian translation, but quite recently the French text has been printed. Sacred, profane, and natural history, geography, oratory, politics, and morals, are the main subject-matter of this encyclopædic labour; than which probably no contemporary produced anything more widely learned, according to the standard of that age. The *Tesoretto* is a shorter performance, written in Italian verse; shorter, yet still of substantial length, numbering, even in its extant incomplete state, 22 sections or ‘*capitoli*.’ This is the work upon which I shall draw for our first specimen of an Italian Courtesy-Book. Something bearing upon the like questions might also be gleaned from the *Tesoro*, but, as that is properly a French book, I leave it aside.

The *Tesoretto* sets forth that its author, being at Roncesvalles on

his return from an embassy in Spain, received the bad news of the battle of Montaperti. Getting astray in a forest,¹ he finds himself in the presence of no less a personage than Dame Nature, who proceeds to give him practical and theoretic demonstrations on all sorts of lofty subjects. She then tells him to explore the forest, where he would find Philosophy, the four Moral Virtues (Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice), Love, Fortune, and Over-reaching (Baratteria). He follows her instructions, searching out these personages from Philosophy on to Love: the four Virtues are attended by many ladies, among whom Brunetto specifies particularly Liberality, *Courtesy*, Good-faith, and Valour. After his interview with Love, he resolves to reconcile himself with God, and makes a full confession at Mont-pélier. Having received absolution, he does not return after Fortune and Over-reaching, but goes back to the forest, and thence reaches the summit of Mount Olympus. Here he sees Ptolemy, who is about to harangue him, when suddenly the *Tesoretto* comes to an end. Its best editor, the Abate Zannoni, supposes that the concluding portion of the poem was written, but has been lost to posterity.

A few words must be added as to the incidents of the author's life. He was born (probably) not much later than 1220 in the Florentine state, and died in 1294. After the great defeat of the Guelphs by the Ghibellines at Montaperti in 1260, Brunetto, with others of the Guelph party, which was almost uninterruptedly uppermost in Florence, found it expedient to emigrate from that capital. He went to Paris, and there wrote both the *Tesoro* and *Tesoretto*. Towards 1265 he was again re-established in his native country, exercising with great credit his profession of a notary, and also (by or before the year 1273) holding the post of secretary to the Commune of Florence. He became, as already mentioned, the preceptor of Dante. As the pupil has damned him to all time at any rate, if not in effect to all eternity, for one offence, let us at least preserve some memory of his countervailing merits, as set forth by Giovanni and Filippo Villani. The former affirms that Brunetto 'was the initiator and master in refining the Florentines, and cultivating their use of

¹ Possibly this notion prompted Dante to represent himself, in the opening of the *Commedia*, as also lost in a forest.

language ; and in regulating the justice and rule of our Republic according to policy.' And, according to Filippo, 'Brunetto Latini was by profession a philosopher, by occupation a notary, and of great name and celebrity. He showed forth how much of rhetoric he could add to the gifts of nature : a man, if it be permitted to say so, worthy of being reckoned along with those skilled and ancient orators. He was facetious, learned, and acute, and abounded in certain pleasantries of speech ; yet not without gravity, and the reserve of modesty, which bespoke a most cordial acceptance for his humour : of agreeable discourse, which often moved to laughter. He was obliging and decorous, and by nature serviceable, reserved, and grave ; and most happy in the habit of all virtues, had he been wisely able to endure with a more steadfast mind the outrages of his infuriated country.'

The *Tesoretto* is of course a mine of curiosities of various kinds, tempting to the literary explorer. To call it distinctly a fine poem, or even the performance of a strictly poetic mind, might be the exaggeration of an enthusiast ; but at all events it contains much sound matter well put, and by no means destitute of entertainment. The section that falls in best with our present purpose is the speech assigned to Lady Courtesy : I present it in its entirety.

'Be sure that Liberality is the head and greatness¹
Of my mystery ; so that I am little worth,
And, if she aids me not, I should find scant acceptance.
She is my foundation ; and I am her gilding,
And colour, and varnish. But, to say the very truth,
If we have two names, we are well-nigh one thing.

But to thee, gentle friend, I say first
That in thy speech thou be circumspect.
Be not too great a talker, and think aforehand
What thou wouldst be saying ; for never

¹ The line here translated as one forms two in the Italian, and the like with our sequel ; Brunetto's metre being an ungracefully short one—thus :

'Sìe certo che Larghezza
È'l capo e la grandezza,' &c.

Indeed the metre keeps up such a perpetual jingling as almost to reduce to doggerel what might, in a different rhythmical form, be accepted as very fair rhyme and reason indeed. I have thrown the several couplets into single lines, in the translation, simply with a view to saving space.

Doth the word that is spoken return,—like the arrow
 Which goes and returns not. He who has a goodly tongue,
 Little sense suffices him, if by folly he spoils it not.
 Be thy speech gentle; and see it be not harsh
 In any position of command, for thou canst not
 Give people any graver annoy. I advise that he should die
 Who displeases by harshness, for he never conquers the habit :
 And he who has no moderation, if he acts well, he filches that.
 Be not exasperating; neither be a tell-tale
 Of what another person has spoken in thy presence;
 Nor yet use contumely; nor tell any one a lie,
 Nor slander of any,—for in sooth there is no one
 Of whom one might not say something offensive offhand.
 Neither be so self-sufficient as that even one hard word
 Affecting another person should issue from thy mouth;
 For too much self-sufficiency is contrary to good usage.
 And let him who is on the highway beware of speaking folly.

But thou knowest that I command thee, and put it as a strict precept,
 That thou honour to the utmost thy good friend
 On foot and on horseback: and be sure that for a small fault
 Thou bear no grudge—let not love fail on thy part.
 And have it always in mind to associate with people of honour,
 And from others hold aloof; so that (as with the crafts¹)
 Thou mayst not acquire any vice, whereof, before thou couldst amend
 it,

Thou shalt have scathe and shame. Therefore at all hours
 Hold fast to good usage; for that advances thee
 In credit and honour, and makes thee better,
 And gives fair seeming,—for a good nature
 Becomes the clearer and more polished if it follows good habits.
 But see none the less that, if thou shouldst appear tedious
 To such or such a company, thou venture to frequent it no more,
 But procure thyself some other to which thy ways are pleasing.
 Friend, heed this well: with one richer than thyself
 Seek not to associate,—for thou shalt be as their merry-maker,
 Or else thou wilt spend as much as they; for, if thou didst not this,
 Thou wouldst be mean,—and reflect always
 That a costly beginning demands perseverance.
 Therefore thou must provide, if thy means allow it,

¹ The original runs

‘Che, siccome dell’ arti,
 Qualche vizio non prendi.’

This phrase is not quite clear to me; but I suppose the word ‘*arti*’ is to be understood as meaning ‘crafts, trades, or professions,’ and that Brunetto had been sharp enough to see that people become ‘shoppy’ according to their respective shops. ‘*Vous êtes orfèvre, Monsieur Josse.*’

That thou do this openly. If not, then mind
 Not to make such expenditure as shall afterwards be reprov'd ;
 But adopt such a system as to be consistent with thyself.
 And, if thou art a little better off [than thy comrades], do not get
 away,

But spend on the same scale ;¹ take no advantage :—
 And at all times take heed, if there is in thy company
 A man, in thine opinion, of inferior means,
 That, for God's sake, thou force him not into more than he can meet ;
 For, if, for thy convenience, he spends his money amiss,
 And comes to poverty, thou wilt be blamed therefor.

And in sooth there are persons of high condition
 Who call themselves "noble" : all others they hold cheap
 Because of this nobility. And, in that conceit,
 They will call a man "tradesman"¹ who would sooner spend a bushel
 Of florins than *they* of halfpence,²—

Although the means of both might be of like amount.
 And he who holds himself noble, without doing any other good
 Save of the name, fancies he is making the cross to himself,
 But he *does* make the fig to himself.³ He who endures not toil
 For honour's sake, let him not imagine that he comes
 Among men of worth, because he is of lofty race ;
 For I hold him noble who shows that he follows the path
 Of great valour and of gentle nurture,—
 So that, besides his lineage, he does deeds of worth,
 And lives honourably so as to make himself beloved.
 I admit indeed that, if the one and other are equal in good deeds,

¹ '*Mercennario*'—literally, mercenary or hireling.

² '*Picciolini*.' These were, I gather, coins of a particular denomination, but I have not been able to ascertain their precise value.

³ 'Credesi far la croce,
 Ma e' si fa la fica.'

I have translated literally ; but that of course makes something very like nonsense in English. To 'make the fig' is a gesture of the thumb and fingers, understood as gross and insulting in the highest degree. The general sense of the passage is therefore—'He fancies he is thus testifying in his own honour, whereas it really does redound to his own extreme shame.' Readers of Dante, remembering the splendid canzone

'Le dolci rime d'amor ch' io solia,'

in which he refutes the false and defines the true bases of 'nobility' (*gentilezza*), will perceive that the illustrious pupil had been to a great extent anticipated by the teaching of his early instructor. Francesco da Barberino (*Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*) adopts a middle course, discriminating '*gentilezza*' thus : 'Nobility is twoform in quality and in origin. The first is a state of the human soul contented in virtue, hostile to vice, exulting in the good of others, and pitiful in their adversity. The second is mastery over men or riches, derived from of old, sensitive to shame when brought low.'

He who is the better born is esteemed the higher :
 Not through any teaching of mine, but it seems to be the usage,
 Which conquers and overthrows many of my ways,
 So that I can no otherwise ; for this world is so dense
 That the right is even judged of according to a little talking,
 For the great and the lesser live therein by rumour.

Therefore be heedful to keep among them so silent
 That they may have nothing to laugh at. Adopt their modes,
 For I rather advise thee to follow their wrongfulness.¹
 For, though thou shouldst be in the right, yet, as soon as it pleases
 not them,

It avails thee nothing to speak well, nor yet ill.
 Therefore recount no tale, unless it appears good and fair
 To all who hear it ; for somebody will censure thee for it,
 And add lies thereto when thou art gone,
 Which must assuredly grieve thee. So thou must know,
 In such company, to play the prudent part,
 And be heedful to say what will please.
 And as for the good, if thou knowest it, thou wilt tell it to others
 Where thou art known and held dear ;
 For thou wilt find among people many fools
 Who take greater pleasure in hearing something scurrilous
 Than what is profitable. Pass on, and heed not,
 And be circumspect.

If a man of great repute
 Should at any time do something that is out of bounds
 In street or church, follow not the example :
 For he has no excuse who conforms to the wrong-doing of others.
 And see that thou err not if thou art staying or going
 With a lady or lord, or other superior,—
 Also that, although he be but thine equal, thou observe to honour him,
 Each according to his condition. Be so heedful of this,
 Both of less and more, that thou lose not self-restraint.
 To thine inferior, however, render not more honour
 Than beseems him, nor such that he should hold thee cheap for it :
 And so, if he is the inferior, always walk a step in advance.
 And, if thou art on horseback, avoid every fault ;
 And, if thou goest through the city, I counsel thee to go
 Very courteously. Ride decorously,
 With head a little bowed, for to go in that loose-reined way

¹ Here, on the contrary, we come to a precept the reverse of Dantesque. Yet, on combining this passage with that which opens the ensuing paragraph, it would seem that Brunetto does not mean to recommend connivance with anything that is positively evil, but only with current habits and fashions, objectionable though they may be, in matters essentially indifferent—as of speech and deportment.

Looks most boorish ; and stare not up at the height
Of every house thou comest to. Mind that thou move not about
Like a man from the country—wriggle not like an eel :
But go steadily along the road and among the people.

When thou art asked for a loan, delay not.
If thou art willing to lend, make not the man linger so long
That the favour shall be lost before it is rendered.

And, when thou art in company, always follow
Their modes and their liking ; for thou must not want
To be just suiting thine own taste, nor to be at odds with them.

And always be heedful that thou give not any gross glances
At any woman living, in house or street ;
For he who does thus, and calls himself a lover,
Is esteemed a blackguard.¹ And I have seen before now
A man lose position by a single act of levity ;²
For in this country such goings-on are not admired.
And take heed in every case that Love, with his arts,
Inflame not thy heart. With severest pain
Wouldst thou consume thy life ; nor couldst thou be numbered
In my following, wert thou in his power.³

Now return in-doors, for it is the time ;
And be liberal and courteous, so that in every country
All thy belongings be deemed pleasurable.'

We now pass from Florence to Lombardy—from Ser Brunetto Latini to Fra Bonvicino da Riva—from the lawyer and official to the friar and professor. The poem of Fra Bonvicino, *The Fifty Courtesies for the Table*, will be our principal *pièce de résistance*, and presented accordingly in its own garnishing of old Italian as well as in English. Not that it is by any means the best or most important piece of work that we have to bring forward ; but its rarity, its dialectic interest for students of old Italian, and its precision and detail with regard to one of the essentials of courtesy—the art of dining—

¹ 'Briccon'—the colloquial term still in daily use among Italians.

² 'Solo d'una canzone : ' literally, 'merely for one song.' The Abate Zannoni understands this to mean '*per aver una sola volta canzonato femmina*.' He admits that this sense of the phrase is not discoverable in that fetish of the Italian pedant, the *Dizionario della Crusca* ; but as I have no superior authority to oppose to that of Abate Zannoni, I have followed his interpretation.

³ This seems strange doctrine—that love of courtesy and love of women cannot co-exist in the same man—if we are to accept it in its amplest sense. Perhaps, however, we are to understand that the speaker is still confining his censures to miscellaneous and unsanctioned amours or flirtations, especially with married women.

give it exceptional value for our direct purpose. The poem is supposed to have been written about 1290.

Unpolished as he is in poetic development, Fra Bonvicino is not to be altogether slighted from a literary point of view. Tiraboschi (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*) believes that Bonvicino and one other were the two sole verse-writers of the Lombard or Milanese State in this opening period of Italian poesy; and Signor Biondelli, whom we have to thank for the publication of Bonvicino's production after so many centuries of its hybernation in MS, can point to the choiceness of the old Friar's vocabulary. In one couplet that well-qualified editor is able to find five expressions 'which, for propriety and purity, would even at the present day besem the most careful of writers;' and hence he pronounces Bonvicino 'the elegant writer of his time.' It should be understood, however, that the MS reproduced by Signor Biondelli, and now again in the present volume, gives but an inadequate idea of the primitiveness of Bonvicino's own actual idiom. Tiraboschi cites a harsher version of the first stanza from an earlier MS then existing in the Library of Santa Maria In-coronata in Milan, but which is now undiscoverable: the MS used by Signor Biondelli is of a much later date, the fifteenth century. It pertains to the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

Bonvicino belonged to the third order of the Friars named Umi-liati, and lived (as he himself informs us) in Legnano, a town of the Milanese district. Hence he went to Milan, and became a distinguished professor of grammar in the Palatine schools. The only other poem of his published in Signor Biondelli's volume¹ is *On the dignity of the Glorious Virgin Mary*: but Tiraboschi specifies other productions in verse—Dialogues in praise of Almsgiving, between the Virgin and Satan, between the Virgin and the Sinner, between the Creator and the Soul, between the Soul and the Body, between the Violet and the Rose, between the Fly and the Ant; also the Legends of Job and of St Alexius; and various works in Latin, of which some have been published.

¹ Poesie Lombarde Inedite del Secolo 13, pubblicate ed illustrate da B. Biondelli. Milano: Bernardoni. 1856. We are indebted to Signor Biondelli's courtesy for a copy of this curious and interesting work.

DE LE

ZINQUANTA CORTEXIE DA TAVOLA

DE FRA BONVEXINO DA RIVA

Fra bon Vexino da Riva, che stete in borgo Legniano
 De le cortexie da descho ne dixe primano ;
 De le cortexie cinquanta che se den servare a descho
 Fra bon Vexino da Riva ne parla mo' de frescho. 4

La primiera è questa : che quando tu è a mensa,
 Del povero bexognoxo imprimamente inpena ;
 Che quando tu pasci lo povero, tu pasci lo tó Signore,
 Che te passerà, poxe la toa morte, in lo eternal dolzore. 8

La cortexia segunda : se tu sporze aqua alle man,
 Adornamente la sporze ; guarda no sia vilan ;
 Asay ghe ne sporze, no tropo, quando el è tempo d'estae ;
 D' inverno per lo fregio in pizina quantitae. 12

La terza cortexia si è : no sì tropo presto
 De corre senza parola per asetare al descho ;
 Se alchun te invida a noxe, anze che tu sie asetato,
 Per ti no prende quello axio, d'onde tu fuzi deschazato. 16

¹ Bonvexino (pronounced Bonvesino) is, in modern Italian, Bonvicino—i. e. good neighbour.

² 'Afresh' represents the Italian 'de frescho.' Signor Biondelli considers that the phrase means 'afresh,' indicating that Fra Bonvesino had written his Courtesies in Latin before turning them into Italian. Signor Biondelli, however, admits that 'de frescho' may also mean 'now recently,' 'just now' ;

THE
FIFTY COURTESIES FOR THE TABLE,
OF FRA BONVESINO¹ DA RIVA.

Fra Bonvesino da Riva, who lived in the town of Legnano,
First treated of the Courtesies for the Table.
Of the Fifty Courtesies which should be observed at the board
Fra Bonvesino da Riva now speaks afresh.² 4

The first is this: that, when thou art at table,
Thou think first of the poor and needy;
For, when thou feedest the poor, thou feedest thy Lord,
Who will feed thee, after thy death, in the eternal bliss. 8

The second Courtesy. If thou offerest water for the hands,
Offer it neatly: see thou be not rude.
Offer enough water, not too much, when it is summer-time:
In winter, for the cold, in small quantity. 12

The third Courtesy is—Be not too quick
To run without a word to sit down at the board.
If any one invites thee to a wedding,³ before thou art seated,
Take not for thyself a place from which thou wouldst be turned out.

and, but for his contrary preference, I should attribute that meaning to the word in the present instance.

³ 'Noxe.' I *suppose* this must represent the modern-Italian word 'nozze,' nuptials, though the incident of a wedding seems rather suddenly introduced at this point, and does not re-appear afterwards.

L' oltra è: Anze che tu prendi lo cibo aparegiao
 Per ti, over per tò mayore, fa sì ch' el sie segniao.
 Tropo è gordo e vilan, e incontra Cristo malegna
 Lo quale alli oltri guarda, ni lo sò condugio no segna. 20

La cortexia zinquena: sta aconzamente al descho,
 Cortexe, adorno, alegrò, e confortoxo e frescho;
 No di' sta convitoroxo, ni gramo, ni travachao;
 Ni con le gambe in croxe, ni torto, ni apodiaio. 24

La cortexia sexena: da poy che l' omo se fiada,
 Sia cortexe no apodiasse sovra la mensa bandia;
 Chi fa dra mensa podio, quello homo non è cortexe,
 Quando el gh'apodia le gambe, over ghe ten le braze destexe. 28

La cortexia setena si è: in tuta zente
 No tropo mangiare, ni pocho; ma temperadamente;
 Quello homo en ch' el se sia, che mangia tropo, ni pocho,
 No vego quentro pro ghe sia al'anima, ni al corpo. 32

La cortexia ogena si è: che Deo n' acrescha,
 No tropo imple la bocha, ni tropo mangia inpressa;
 Lo gordo che mangia inpressa, e che mangia a bocha piena,
 Quando el fisse apellavo, no ve risponde apena. 36

La cortexia novena si è: a pocho parlare,
 Et a tenere pox quello che l' à tolegio a fare;
 Che l' omo tan fin ch' el mangia, s' el usa tropo a dire,
 Le ferguie fora dra bocha sovenzo pon insire. 40

La cortexia dexena si è: quando tu è sede,
 Travonde inanze lo cibo, e furbe la bocha, e beve.
 Lo gordo che beve inpressa, inanze ch' el voja la chana;
 Al' oltro fa fastidio che beve sego in compagnia. 44

¹ Signor Biondelli understands this stanza in a somewhat different sense, as applying to the *assigning* of dishes, not the *signing* of the cross as a grace be-

The next is—Before thou takest the food prepared,
 See that it be signed [with the cross] by thyself or thy better.
 Too greedy and churlish is he, and he offends against Christ,
 Who looks about at others, and signs not his dish.¹ 20

The fifth Courtesy. Sit properly at the board,
 Courteous, well-dressed, cheerful, and obliging and fresh.
 Thou must not sit anxious, nor dismal, nor lolling,
 Nor with thy legs crossed, nor awry, nor leaning forward. 24

The sixth Courtesy. When people are at a pause,
 Be careful not to lean forward on the laid-out table.
 He who uses the table as a prop, that man is not courteous,
 When he tilts his legs upon it, or stretches out his arms along it. 28

The seventh Courtesy is—For all people
 Not to eat too much nor little, but temperately.
 That man, whoever he may be, who eats too much or little,
 I see not what good it can be to his soul or his body. 32

The eighth Courtesy is—So may God favour us,
 Fill not thy mouth too much, nor eat in too great a hurry.
 The glutton who eats in a hurry, and who eats with his mouth stuffed,
 If he were addressed, he scarcely answers you. 36

The ninth Courtesy is—To speak little,
 And stick to that which one has set-to at doing ;
 For a man, as long as he is eating, if he has the habit of talking too
 much,
 Scraps may often spurt out of his mouth. 40

The tenth Courtesy is—When thou art thirsty,
 First swallow down thy food, and wipe thy mouth, and drink.
 The glutton who drinks in a hurry, before he has emptied his gullet,
 Makes himself disagreeable to the other who is drinking in his com-
 pany. 44

fore meat. The reference to Christ seems to me to create a strong presumption in favour of my interpretation.

E la undexena è questa : no sporze la copa al' oltro,
 Quando el ghe pò atenze, s' el no te fesse acorto ;
 Zaschuno homo prenda la copa quando ghe plaxe ;
 E quando el l' à beudo, l' à de mete zoxo in paxe. 48

La dodexena è questa ; quando tu di' prende la copa,
 Con dove mane la rezeve, e ben te furbe la bocha ;
 Con l'una conzamente no se pò la ben receive ;
 Azò ch' el vino no se spanda, con doe mane di' beve. 52

La tredexena è questa : se ben tu no voy beve,
 S' alchun te sporze la copa, sempre la di' rezeve ;
 Quando tu l' à receuda, ben tosto la pò mete via ;
 Over sporze a un' altro ch' è tego in compagnia. 56

L' altra che segue è questa : quando tu è alli convivi,
 Onde si à bon vin in descho, guarda che tu no t' invrie ;
 Che se invria matamente, in tre maynere offende ;
 El noxe al corpo e al' anima, e perde lo vin ch' el spende. 60

La quindexena è questa : seben verun ariva,
 No leva in pè dal descho, se grande cason no ghe sia ;
 Tan fin tu mangi al descho, non di' moverse inlora,
 Per amore de fare careze a quilli che te veraveno sovra. 64

La sedexena apresso con veritae :
 No sorbilar dra bocha quando tu mangi con cugial ;
 Quello fa sicom bestia, chi con cugial sorbilia ;
 Chi doncha à questa usanza, ben fa s' el se dispolia. 68

La desetena apresso si è : quando tu stranude,
 Over ch' el te prende la tosse, guarda con tu làvori
 In oltra parte te volze, ed è cortexia impensa,
 Azò che dra sariva no zesse sor la mensa. 72

¹ It is clear from the general context that the victuals here spoken of as to be eaten with a spoon are solid edibles—not merely soups or the like : the spoon corresponding to the modern fork. The word translated 'suck' is 'sor-

And the eleventh is this : Do not offer the cup to another
 When he can himself reach it, unless he asks thee for it.
 Let every man take the cup when he pleases ;
 And, when he has drunk, he should set it down quietly. 48

The twelfth is this : When thou hast to take the cup,
 Hold it with both hands, and wipe thy mouth well.
 With one [hand] it cannot well be held properly :
 In order that the wine be not spilled, thou must drink using both
 hands. 52

The thirteenth is this : If even thou dost not want to drink,
 If anybody offers thee the cup, thou must always accept it.
 When thou hast accepted it, thou mayst very soon set it down,
 Or else offer it to another who is in company with thee. 56

The next that follows is this : When thou art at entertainments
 Where there is good wine on the board, see that thou get not drunk.
 He who gets mad-drunk offends in three ways :
 He harms his body and his soul, and loses the wine which he con-
 sumes. 60

The fifteenth is this : If any one arrives,
 Rise not up from the board unless there be great reason therefor.
 As long as thou eatest at the board, thou shouldst not then move
 For the sake of making much of those who may come in to thee. 64

The sixteenth next in good sooth.
 Suck not with the mouth when thou eatest with a spoon.¹
 He acts like a beast who sucks with a spoon :
 Therefore whoever has this habit does well in ridding himself of it.

The seventeenth afterwards is this : When thou dost sneeze,
 Or if a cough seizes thee, mind thy lips :
 Turn aside, and reflect that that is courtesy,
 So that no saliva may get on the table. 72

bilar : ' perhaps 'mumble' would convey the force of the precept more fully
 though less literally.

La desogena è questa : quando l' omo sente ben sano,
 No faza onde el se sia del companadego pan ;
 Quello ch' è lechardo de carne, over d'ove, over de formagio,
 Anche n' abielo d'avanzo, perzò no de 'l fa stragio. 76

La dexnovena è questa : no blasma li condugi
 Quando tu è alli convivi ; ma di, che l'in bon tugi.
 In questa rea usanza multi homini ò za trovao,
 Digando : *questo è mal cogio, o questo è mal salao.* 80

E la XX.^a è questa : ale toe menestre atende ;
 Entre altru' no guarda, se no forse per imprende
 Lo menistrante, s' el ghe manca ben de guardà per tuto ;
 Mal s' el no menestresse clave e se lovo è bruto. 84

La XXI.^a è questa : no mastrulare per tuto
 Como avesse carne, over ove, over semiante condugio ;
 Chi volze, over chi mastrulia sur lo taliere zerchando,
 È bruto, e fa fastidio al compagnon mangiando. 88

La XXII.^a è questa : no te reze vilanamente ;
 Se tu mangi con verun d'uno pan comunamente,
 Talia lo pan per ordine, no va taliando per tuto ;
 No va taliando da le parte, se tu no voy essere bruto. 92

La XXIII.^a : no di' metere pan in vino,
 Se tego d'un napo medesmo bevesse Fra Bon Vexino ;
 Chi vole peschare entro vin, bevando d'un napo connego,
 Per meo grao, se eyo poesse, no berevere conseo. 96

La XXIII.^a è : no mete in parte per mezo lo compagnon
 Ni grelin, ni squela, se no ghe fosse gran raxon ;
 Over grelin, over squela se tu voy mete inparte,
 Per mezo ti lo di' mete pur da la toa parte. 100

¹ I feel some doubt as to the meaning of this passage.

² This appears to be the general sense of the last two lines. In the final one Signor Biondelli gives up two words as unintelligible : he infers that they must be miscopied.

The eighteenth is this : When a man feels himself quite comfortable,
Let him not leave bread over after the victuals.¹

He who has a taste for meat, or for eggs, or for cheese,
Even though he should have a residue, he should not on that account
waste it. 76

The nineteenth is this : Blame not the dishes
When thou art at entertainments, but say that they are all good.
I have detected many men erewhile in this vile habit,
Saying 'This is ill cooked,' or 'this is ill salted.' 80

And the twentieth is this : Attend to thine own sops ;
Peer not into those of others, unless perchance to apprise
The attendant if anything is wanting. He must look well all round :
Things would go much amiss if he were not to attend.² 84

The twenty-first is this : Do not poke about everywhere,
When thou hast meat, or eggs, or some such dish.
He who turns and pokes about on the platter, searching,³
Is unpleasant, and annoys his companion at dinner. 88

The twenty-second is this : Do not behave rudely.
If thou art eating from one loaf in common with any one,
Cut the loaf as it comes, do not go cutting all about ;
Do not go cutting one part and then another, if thou wouldst not be
uncouth. 92

The twenty-third. Thou must not dip bread into wine
If Fra Bonvesino has to drink out of the same bowl with thee.
He who *will* fish in the wine, drinking in one bowl with me,
I for my own liking, if so I could, would not drink with him. 96

The twenty-fourth is—Set not down right before thy companion
Either pan or pot, unless there be great reason therefor.
If thou wantest to introduce either pan or pot,
Thou must set it down at thine own side, before thyself. 100

³ This seems to contemplate the plan of the several guests helping themselves off the dish brought to table. At any rate, so Signor Biondelli understands it.

La XXV.^a è: chi fosse con femene sovra un talier mangiando,
 La carne a se e a lor ghe debia esser taliata;
 Lo homo de' plu esse intento, plu presto e honoreure,
 Che no de' per raxon la femena agonzente. 104

La XXVI.^a è questa: de grande bontà inpensa,
 Quando lo tò bon amigo mangia alla toa mensa;
 Se tu talie carne, over pessa, over oltre bone pitanze,
 De la plu bella parte ghe debie cerne inanze. 108

La XXVII.^a è questa: no di' troppo agrezare
 L'amigo a caxa tova de beve, ni de mangiare;
 Ben di' tu receve l'amigo e farghe bella cera,
 E darghe ben da spende e consolare voluntera. 112

La XXVIII.^a è questa: apresso grande homo mangiando,
 Astalete de mangiare tan fin che l'è bevando;
 Mangiando apresso d'un vescho, tan fin ch'el beve dra copa,
 Usanza drita prende; no mastegare dra bocha. 116

La XXVIII.^a è questa: se grande homo è da provo.
 No di' beve sego a una hora, anze ghe di' dà logo;
 Chi fosse a provo d'un vescho, tan fin ch'el beverage,
 No di' levà lo sò napo, over ch'el vargarave. 120

E la trentena è questa: che serve, abia neteza;
 No faza in lo prexente ni spuda, ni bruteza;
 Al' homo tan fin ch'el mangia, plu tosto fa fastidio;
 No pò troppo esse neto chi serve a uno convivio. 124

Pox la XXX.^a è questa: zaschun cortese donzello
 Che se vore mondà lo naxo, con li drapi se faza bello;
 Chi mangia, over chi menestra, no de' sofà con le die;
 Con li drapi da pey se monda vostra cortexia. 128

¹ 'Donzello.' This precept seems to be especially addressed to the servitors. Uguccione Pisano, quoted by Muratori, says: 'Donnicelli et Domicellæ dicuntur quando pulchri juvenes magnatum sunt sicut servientes.' Such Donzelli

The twenty-fifth is—One who may be eating from a platter with women,

The meat has to be carved for himself and for them.

The man must be more attentive, more prompt in honouring,
Than the woman, in reason, has to reciprocate. 104

The twenty-sixth is this: Count it as a great kindness

When thy good friend eats at thy table.

If thou carvest meat, or fish, or other good viands,
Thou must choose of the best part for him. 108

The twenty-seventh is this: Thou must not overmuch press

Thy friend in thy house to drink or to eat.

Thou must receive thy friend well, and make him welcome,
And heartily give him plenty to eat and enjoy himself with. 112

The twenty-eighth is this: Dining with a great man,

Abstain from eating so long as he is drinking.

Dining with a Bishop, so long as he is drinking from the cup,
Right usage requires thou shouldst not be chewing with the mouth.

The twenty-ninth is this: If a great man is beside thee,

Thou must not drink at the same time with him, but give him precedence.

Who may be beside a Bishop, so long as he is drinking
Or pouring out, must not raise his bowl. 120

And the thirtieth is this: He who serves, let him be cleanly.

Let him not make in presence [of the guests] any spitting or nastiness:

To a man as long as he is eating, this is all the more offensive.
He who serves at an entertainment cannot be too nice. 124

Next after the thirtieth is this: Every courteous donzel¹

Who wants to wipe his nose, let him embellish himself with a cloth.

He who eats, or who is serving, must not blow through the fingers.

Be so obliging as to clean yourselves with the foot-cloths.² 128

were not allowed to sit at table with the knights; or, if allowed, had to sit apart on a lower seat.

² 'Drapida pey.' I confess to some uncertainty as to what sort of thing

L'oltra che ven è questa ; le toe man siano nete ;
 Ni le die entro le oregie, ni le man sul cho di' mete ;
 No de' l'omo che mangia habere nuāritura,
 A berdugare con le die in parte, onde sia sozura. 132

La terza poxe la XXX.^a : no brancorar con le man,
 Tan fin tu mangi al descho, ni gate, ni can ;
 No è lecito allo cortexe a brancorare li bruti
 Con le man, con le que al tocha li condugi. 136

L'oltra è : tan fin tu mangi con homini cognosenti,
 No mete le die in bocha per descolzare li dingi.
 Chi caza le die in bocha, anze che l'abia mangiao,
 Sur lo talier conmeço no mangia per mè grao. 140

La quinta poxe la trenta : tu no di' lenze le die ;
 Le die chi le caza in bocha brutalmente furbe ;
 Quello homo che se caza in bocha le die inpastruiate,
 Le die no én plu nete, anze son plu brute. 144

La sesta cortexia poxe la trenta :
 S' el te fa mestere parlà, no parla a bocha plena ;
 Chi parla, e chi risponde, se l' à plena la bocha,
 Apena ch' el possa laniare negota. 148

Poxe questa ven quest'oltra : tan fin ch' el compagno
 Avrà lo napo alla bocha, no ghe fa domando,
 Se ben tu lo vo' apelare ; de zò te fazo avezudo ;
 No l'impagià, daghe logo tan fin che l'avrà beudo. 152

these 'foot-cloths' may have been. Signor Biondelli terms them 'the cloths wherewith the feet were wrapped round and dried.' He adds : 'This precept apprizes us that at that time the use of a pocket-handkerchief was not yet introduced, and perhaps not even the use of stockings.' One would fain hope that the summit of Lombardic good breeding in 1290 was not the wiping of noses on cloths actually and at the moment serving for the feet. Possibly *drapi da pey* is here a generic term ; cloths or napkins at hand for use, and which *might have* served for foot-cloths. Thus the word 'duster' might be employed in a similar connection, without our being compelled to suppose that the individual duster had first been used on the spot for dusting the tables or

The next that comes is this : Let thy hands be clean.
 Thou must not put either thy fingers into thine ears, or thy hands
 on thy head.

The man who is eating must not be cleaning
 By scraping with his fingers at any foul part. 132

The third after the thirtieth. Stroke not with hands,
 As long as thou eatest at the board, cat or dog.
 A courteous man is not warranted in stroking brutes
 With the hands with which he touches the dishes. 136

The next is—As long as thou art eating with men of breeding,
 Put not thy fingers into thy mouth to pick thy teeth.
 He who sticks his fingers in his mouth, before he has done eating,
 Eats not, with my good-will, on the platter with me. 140

The fifth after the thirtieth. Thou must not lick thy fingers.
 He who thrusts his fingers into his mouth cleans them nastily.
 That man who thrusts into his mouth his besmeared fingers,
 His fingers are none the cleaner, but rather the nastier. 144

The sixth Courtesy after the thirtieth.
 If thou hast occasion to speak, speak not with thy mouth full.
 He who speaks, and he who answers, if he has his mouth full,
 Scarcely can he chop out a word. 148

After this comes this other : As long as thy companion
 Has the bowl to his mouth, ask him no questions
 If thou wouldst address him : of this I give thee notice.
 Disturb him not : pause until he has drunk. 152

floors, and then for wiping the nose. Or indeed, we moderns, who wipe our noses on *hand*-kerchiefs, do not first use said kerchiefs for wiping our *hands*, nor yet for *covering our heads* ('*couvre chef*').—Reverting to Signor Biondelli's observation as to 'the use of stockings,' I may observe that Francesco da Barberino, in a passage of his *Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*, speaks of 'the beautiful foot shod in silk'—'*calzato in seta*'—which may imply either a stocking or else a shoe. This poem, as we shall see further on, is but little later than Bonvicino's.—The reader may also observe, at p. 68, the horror with which a much later writer, Della Casa, contemplated the use of a dinner-napkin as a pocket-handkerchief.

La XXXVIII.^a è questa : no recuntare ree novelle,
 Azò che quilli ch' in tego, no mangiano con recore ;
 Tan fin che li oltri mangiano, no dî nove angosoze ;
 Ma taxe, over dî parole che siano confortoxe. 156

L' oltra che segue è questa : se tu mangi con persone,
 No fa remore, ni tapie, se ben gh' avise raxone ;
 S' alchun de li toy vargasse, passa oltra fin a tempo,
 Azò che quilli ch' in tego, no abiano turbamento. 160

L' oltra è : se dolia te prende de qualche infirmitade,
 Al più tu poy comprime la toa necesitade ;
 Se mal te senti al descho, no dimostrà la pena ;
 Che tu no fazi recore a quilli che mangiano tego insemi. 164

Pox quella ven quest' oltra : se entro mangial vegisse
 Qualche sghivosa cossa, ai oltri no desisse ;
 Over moscha, over qual sozura entro mangial vezando,
 Taxe, ch'eli no abiano sghivo al descho mangiando. 168

L' oltra è : se tu porte squelle al descho per servire,
 Sur la riva dra squella le porexe di' tenere :
 Se tu apili le squelle cor porexe sur la riva,
 Tu le poy mete zoxo in sò logo senza oltro che t' ayda. 172

La terza poxe la quaranta è : se tu sporzi la copa,
 La sumità del napo col polexe may no tocha ;
 Apilia lo napo de soto, e sporze con una man ;
 Chi ten per altra via, pò fi digio, che sia vilan. 176

La quarta poxe la quaranta si è : chi vol odire :
 Ni grelin, ni squelle, ni 'l napo no di' trop' inplire ;
 Mesura e modo de' esse in tute le cosse che sia ;
 Chi oltra zò vargasse, no ave fà cortexia. 180

The thirty-eighth is this : Tell no bad news,
 In order that those who are with thee may not eat out of spirits.
 As long as the others are eating, give no painful news ;
 But keep silence, or else speak in cheerful terms. 156

The next that follows is this : If thou art eating with others,
 Make no uproar or disturbance, even though thou shouldst have
 reason therefor.
 If any of thy companions should transgress, pass it by till the time
 comes,
 So that those who are with thee may not be put out. 160

The next is—If the pain of any ill-health seizes thee,
 Keep down thy distress as much as thou canst.
 If thou feelest ill at the board, show not the pain,
 That thou mayst not cause discomfort to those who are eating along
 with thee. 164

After that comes this other : Shouldst thou see in the viands
 Any disagreeable thing, tell it not to the others.
 Seeing in the viands either a fly or any uncleanness,
 Keep silence, that they may not feel disgust, eating at the board. 168

The next is—If thou bringest dishes to the board in serving,
 Thou must keep thy thumbs on the rim of the dish.
 If thou takest hold with the thumb on the rim of the dishes,
 Thou canst set them down in their place without any one else to
 help thee. 172

The third after the fortieth is—If thou offerest the cup,
 Never touch with the thumb the upper edge of the bowl.
 Hold the bowl at the under end, and present it with one hand :
 He who holds it otherwise may be called boorish. 176

The fourth after the fortieth is—hear who will—
 Neither frying-pan nor dishes nor bowl should be overfilled.
 Measure and moderation should be in all things that are :.
 He who should transcend this will not have done courtesy. 180

L'oltra che segue è questa : reten a ti lo cugiale,
 Se te fi tolegio la squella per azonzere de lo mangiale ;
 Se l'è lo cugial entro la squella, lq ministrante inpilia ;
 In tute le cortexie ben fa chi s' asetilia. 184

L'oltra è questa : sè tū mangi con cugial,
 No debie infolcire tropo pan entro mangiare ;
 Quello che fa impiastro entro mangià da fogo,
 El fa fastidio a quilli che ghe mangiano da provo. 188

L'oltra che segue è questa : s' el tò amigo è tego,
 Tan fin ch' el mangia al descho, sempre bochona sego ;
 Se forse t' astalasse, ni fosse sazio anchora,
 Forse anchora s' astalarave per vergonza inlora. 192

L'oltra è : mangiando con oltri a qualche inviamento,
 No mete entr' a guayna lo tò cortelo anze tempo ;
 No guerna lo cortello anze ch' alo compagno ;
 Forse altro ven in descho d'onde tu no fè raxon. 196

La cortexia seguente è : quando tu è mangiao,
 Fa sì che Jesu Xristo ne sia glorificao.
 Quel che rezeve servixio d'alchun obediente,
 S'elo no lo regratia, tropo è deschognosente. 200

La cinquantena per la darera :
 Lavare le man, poy beve dro bon vino dra carera :
 Le man poxe lo convivio per pocho pòn si lavae,
 Da grassa e da sozura e l'in netezae. 204

¹ 'Chi s' asetilia.' Signor Biondelli cannot assign the exact sense of this verb. I should suppose it to be either a form of 'Assettarsi,' to settle oneself, to keep one's place, or a corruption of 'Assottigliarsi,' to subtilize, to be punctilious, to 'look sharp.'

² 'D' alchun obediente.' This phrase, if directly connected with the 'Jesu Xristo' of the previous line, seems peculiar. I am not quite clear whether

The next which follows is this : Keep thy spoon,
 If thy plate is removed for the adding of some viands.
 If the spoon is in the plate, it puts out the helper.
 In all courtesies he does well who is heedful.¹ 184

The next is this : If thou art eating with a spoon,
 Thou must not stuff too much bread into the victuals.
 He who lays it on thick upon the cooked meats
 Is distasteful to those who are eating beside him. 188

The next that follows is this : If thy friend is with thee,
 As long as he eats at the board, always keep up with him.
 If thou perchance wert to leave off, and he were not yet satisfied,
 Maybe he also would then leave off through bashfulness. 192

The next is—Dining with others by some invitation,
 Put not back thy knife into the sheath before the time :
 Deposit not thy knife ere thy companion.
 Perhaps something else is coming to table which thou dost not
 reckon for. 196

The succeeding Courtesy is—When thou hast eaten,
 So do as that Jesus Christ be glorified therein.
 He who receives service from any that obeys,²
 If he thanks him not, is too ungrateful. 200

The fiftieth for the last.
 Wash hands, then drink of the good and choice wine.³
 After the meal, the hands may be a little washed,
 And cleansed from grease and impurity. 204

the whole stanza is to be understood as an injunction to render grace after meat, in thankfulness for what Christ has given one—or to thank the *servants* who have been waiting at table, and so to glorify Christ by an act of humility.

³ 'Dro bon vino dra carera.' The general sense is evidently near what the translation gives : but Signor Biondelli is unable to assign the *precise* sense. No wonder therefore that I am unable.

As far as I know (though I cannot affect to speak with authority) this poem by Fra Bonvicino, and those by Francesco da Barberino of which we shall next take cognisance, are considerably the oldest still extant Courtesy-Books (expressly to be so termed) of Christianized Europe;¹ except one, partly coming under the same definition, which has been mentioned to me by a well-read friend, Dr Heimann (of University College), but of which I have no direct personal knowledge.² This also, though written in the German language, is the production of an Italian. It is entitled *Der Wälsche Gast* (*the Italian Guest*), and dates about 1210. The author's name is given as Tomasin von Zirclaria, born in Friuli. The book supplies various rules of etiquette, in a very serious and well-intentioned tone, as I am informed.—Fra Bonvicino would, on the ground of his antiquity alone, be well deserving of study. His precepts moreover (with comparatively few exceptions) cannot even yet be called obsolete, though some of them are unsophisticated to the extent of being superfluous. In order that the reader may see in one *coup d'œil* the whole of this curious old monument I subjoin a classified abridgment of the injunctions :—

1. *Moral and Religious.*

To think of the poor first of all.
 To remember grace before meat.
 To eat enough, and not too much.
 Not to get drunk.
 To pass over for the time any cause of quarrel.
 To say grace after meat.

2. *Practical Rules still fairly operative.*

To offer water for washing the hands before dinner.
 Not to plump into a seat at table at haphazard.
 To sit at table decorously and in good humour.

¹ Several others must nevertheless have been written before or about the same time; for Barberino himself, in the exordium to his *Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*, says—

‘There have been many who wrote books
 Concerning the elegant manners of men, but not of women.’

² A full account of it by Mr Eugene Oswald follows the present Essay.

- Not to tilt oneself forward on the table.
- Not to gorge or bolt one's food.
- To subordinate talking to eating.
- Not to drink with one's mouth full.
- To remain seated at table, even though fresh guests should arrive.
- Not to suck at solid food eaten with a spoon.
- To use up one's bread.
- To abstain from raising objections to the dinner.
- Not to scrutinize one's neighbour's plate.
- To cut bread as it comes, not in all sorts of ways.
- To carve for the ladies.
- To give the guests prime cuts.
- To make the guests thoroughly welcome, without oppressive urgencies.
- To abstain at dinner from stroking cats and dogs.
- Not to speak with one's mouth full.
- To abstain from imparting bad news at dinner.
- To keep down any symptoms of pain or illness.
- To avoid calling attention to anything disagreeable which may accidentally be in the dishes.
- The attendants to hold the dishes by their rims.
- Not to hand round the bowl by its upper edge.
- Not to overload the dishes, goblets, &c.
- Not to hurry through with one's eating, so that others, who are left behind, would feel uncomfortable.
- To wash hands and drink the best wine after dinner.

3. *Rules equally true and primitive.*

- Not to tilt one's legs on the table between-whiles.
- To turn aside if one sneezes or coughs.
- Not to set down before the guests utensils fresh from the kitchen.
- The attendants to be clean—not to spit, &c.
- To blow one's nose on 'foot-cloths,' not through the fingers.
- Not to scratch at one's head or elsewhere.
- Not to pick one's teeth with the fingers.
- Not to lick one's fingers clean.

4. *Rules which may be regarded as over-punctilious or obsolete.*

Not to sit at table with one's legs crossed.

To offer the cup to others only when they want it. (The rules as to drinking seem throughout to contemplate that two or more guests are using one cup or vessel.)

To use both hands in drinking.

Never to decline the cup when another offers it, but to drink no more than one wishes. (This rule still has its analogue at tables where the custom lingers of requesting 'the pleasure of taking wine with' some one else.)

Not to rummage about in the dish from which one is eating along with others.

Not to dip bread into the wine of which one is drinking along with others.

To suspend eating while a man of importance is drinking.

To postpone drinking till the man of importance has finished.

Not to speak to a man who is in the act of drinking. (This rule seems to contemplate 'potations pottle-deep,' such as engage all one's energies for some little while together: for a mere modern sip at a wine-glass such a rule would be superfluous.)

To retain one's spoon when one's plate is removed for another help. (*One* spoon, it may be inferred, is to last all through the meal, serving as a fork.)

Not to eat an excessive quantity of bread with the viands.

Not to re-place one's knife in its sheath prematurely. (It may be presumed that each guest brings his own knife.)

The reader who considers these rules in their several categories, and with due allowance for difference of times, manners, and 'properties,' will, I think, agree with me in seeing that the essentials of courtesy at table in Lombardy in the thirteenth century, and in England in the nineteenth, are, after all, closely related; and that, while some of our Friar's tutorings would now happily be supererogatory, and others are inapplicable to present dining conveniences, not one is ill-bred in any correct use of that word. The details of etiquette vary indefinitely: the sense of courtesy is substantially one

and the same. In Fra Bonvicino's manual, it appears constantly in its genuine aspect, and prompted by its truest spirit—not so much that of personal correctness, each man for his own credit, as of uniform consideration for others.

The same is eminently the case with some of the precepts given by our next author, Francesco da Barberino. Nothing, for instance, can go beyond the true *rationale* of courtesy conveyed in the following injunction¹ (which we must not here degrade from its grace of Tuscan speech and verse):

‘ Colli minor sì taci,
E prendi il loco che ti danno ; e pensa
Che, per far qui difesa,
Faresti lor, per tuo vizio, villani.’

Or this:²

‘ E credo che fa male
Colui che taglia essendo a suo maggiore :
Chè non v' è servitore
S'el non dimanda prima la licenza.’

Indeed, I think that the tone prevalent throughout Barberino's maxims of courtesy on all sorts of points is fairly to be called exquisite. Our extract from him brings us (it may be well to remember) into the closest contact with the social usages which Dante in his youth must have been cognisant of and conforming to ; for, in passing from Bonvicino to Barberino, we have passed from Lombardy to Tuscany—the latter poet being a native of the Val d'Elsa, in the same district as Boccaccio's birth-place, Certaldo. The date assigned to Barberino's work, the *Documenti d'Amore*, is just about the same as that of Bonvicino's, or from 1290 to 1296. Yet I apprehend we must receive this early date with some hesitation. In 1290 Barberino was but twenty-six years of age ; whereas the *Documenti d'Amore*, a lengthy and systematic treatise on all kinds of moral and social duties and proprieties, seems to be rich with the hoarded experience of years. That so young a man should even have sketched out for himself a work of such axiomatic oracularity seems *à priori* unlikely, though one has to accept the fact on authority : that he

¹ This injunction forms stanza 4 in our extract from Barberino beginning at p. 38.

² See at p. 40, the stanza beginning ‘ And I think that he does amiss.’

should towards that age have completed the poem as we now possess it appears to me barely compatible with possibility. His other long poem, still more singular on the like account, is referred to nearly the same date. I observe in it, however, one passage (Part 6) which *must* have been written after 1308, and probably after 1312. It refers to a story which had been narrated to Barberino 'one time that he was in Paris.' Now his journey on a mission to Provence and France began in 1309, and ended in 1313.

I shall here give place to my brother, and extract *verbatim* the notice of Barberino contained in his book of translations, *The Early Italian Poets*.¹

'Francesco da Barberino : born 1264, died 1348.

'With the exception of Brunetto Latini (whose poems are neither very poetical nor well adapted for extract), Francesco da Barberino shows by far the most sustained productiveness among the poets who preceded Dante, or were contemporaries of his youth. Though born only one year in advance of Dante, Barberino seems to have undertaken, if not completed, his two long poetic treatises some years before the commencement of the *Commedia*.

'This poet was born at Barberino di Valdelsa, of a noble family, his father being Neri di Ranuccio da Barberino. Up to the year of his father's death, 1296, he pursued the study of law chiefly in Bologna and Padua ; but afterwards removed to Florence for the same purpose, and became one of the many distinguished disciples of Brunetto Latini,² who probably had more influence than any other one man in forming the youth of his time to the great things they accomplished. After this he travelled in France and elsewhere ; and on his return to Italy in 1313, was the first who, by special favour of Pope Clement V., received the grade of Doctor of Laws in Florence. Both as lawyer and as citizen, he held great trusts, and discharged

¹ *The Early Italian Poets, from Ciullo d'Alcamo to Dante Alighieri (1100-1200-1300), in the Original Metres : together with Dante's Vita Nuova. Translated by D. G. Rossetti. Smith and Elder, 1862.*

² There is evidently something erroneous in this statement : Brunetto died in 1294. The Editor of a collection of Italian Poets (*Lirici del Secolo secondo, &c.—Venezia, Antonelli, 1841*) says : 'Francesco went through his first studies under Brunetto Latini. Hence he passed to the Universities of Padua and of Bologna.' Barberino being a Tuscan, this seems the natural course for him to adopt, rather than to have gone to Padua and Bologna before Florence. My brother's remark, as to the death of Neri in 1296, and as to Francesco's subsequent sojourn in Florence, agrees, however, with the statement made by Tiraboschi : apparently we should understand that Francesco had been in Florence both before and after his stay in Padua and Bologna, and that his studies under Brunetto pertain to the earlier period.

them honourably. He was twice married, the name of his second wife being Barna di Tano, and had several children. At the age of eighty-four he died in the great plague of Florence. Of the two works which Barberino has left, one bears the title of *Documenti d'Amore*, literally *Documents*¹ *of Love*, but perhaps more properly rendered as *Laws of Courtesy*; while the other is called *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne*,—*of the Government and Conduct of Women*. They may be described, in the main, as manuals of good breeding or social chivalry—the one for men, and the other for women. Mixed with vagueness, tediousness, and not seldom with artless absurdity, they contain much simple wisdom, much curious record of manners, and (as my specimens show) occasional poetic sweetness or power—though these last are far from being their most prominent merits. The first-named treatise, however, has much more of such qualities than the second, and contains moreover passages of homely humour which startle by their truth, as if written yesterday. At the same time, the second book is quite as well worth reading, for the sake of its authoritative minuteness in matters which ladies now-a-days would probably consider their own undisputed region, and also for the quaint gravity of certain surprising prose anecdotes of real life with which it is interspersed. Both these works remained long unprinted; the first edition of the *Documenti d'Amore* being that edited by Ubaldini in 1640, at which time he reports the *Reggimento* &c. to be only possessed by his age “in name and in desire.” This treatise was afterwards brought to light, but never printed till 1815. I should not forget to state that Barberino attained some knowledge of drawing; and that Ubaldini had seen his original MS of the *Documenti*, containing, as he says, skilful miniatures by the author.

‘Barberino never appears to have taken a very active part in politics, but he inclined to the Imperial and Ghibelline party. This contributes with other things to render it rather singular that we find no poetic correspondence or apparent communication of any kind between him and his many great countrymen, contemporaries of his long life, and with whom he had more than one bond of sympathy. His career stretched from Dante, Guido Cavalcanti, and Cino da Pistoia, to Petrarca and Boccaccio: yet only in one respectful but not enthusiastic notice of him by the last-named writer (*Genealogia degli Dei*) do we ever meet with an allusion to him by any of the greatest men of his time. Nor in his own writings, as far as I remember, are they ever referred to. His epitaph is said to have been written by Boccaccio, but this is doubtful. On reviewing the present series, I am sorry, on the whole, not to have included more specimens of Barberino; whose writings, though not very easy to tackle in the mass, would afford an excellent field for selection and summary.’

¹ *Teachings* or *Lessonings* of *Love* might probably express the sense more exactly to an English ear.

Thus far my brother. I will only add to his biographical details that, at the very end of Francesco da Barberino's life, he and one of his sons were elected the Priori, or joint chief-magistrates of the Florentine Republic; and that the Barberini who came to the papal chair in 1623 as Urban VIII. was of the same family. His patronymic is enshrined to many loose memories in the epigram '*Quod non fecere Barbari fecere Barberini.*' To all that my brother has said of the qualities, and especially the merits, of Francesco, I cordially subscribe. The *Documenti d'Amore* is really a most capital book,—I should suppose, unsurpassed of its kind, and also in its interest for students of the early mediæval manners, and modes of thought. Its diction is remarkably condensed—(Italian scholars say that it shows strong traces of the author's Provençal studies and predilections)—and it is proportionately stiff work to hasty readers. Those who will peruse it deliberately, and weigh its words, find many niceties of laconism, and much terse and sententious good sense as well—lengthy as is the entire book. This is indeed no slight matter—twelve sections, and something like 8500 lines. It is exactly the sort of work to elicit and to account for editorial enthusiasm.

I extract in full the stanzas bearing directly upon that which (following the impulsion of Fra Bonvicino) has become our more immediate subject—the Courtesies of the Table. The tone of society which we find here is visibly in advance of the Lombard Friar's, though the express precepts of the two writers have a good deal of general resemblance: the superiority in this respect is very much the same as in the language. Barberino's diction seems quite worthy of a Tuscan contemporary of Dante, and his works are still drawn upon as a '*testo di lingua.*'

'The third point of good manners
Which thou art to observe at table
Thou mayst receive thus;
Thinking out for thyself the other details from these few.

And, in entering to table,
If he who says to thee "Go in" is a man of distinction,
On account of his dignity
It behoves thee not to dispute the going.

With thine equals, it beseems to decline
 For awhile, and then to conform to their wish :
 With superiors, affect
 Just the least demur, and then acquiesce.

With inferiors, keep silence,
 And take the place which they give thee : and reflect
 That, by resisting here,
 Thou, by thy default, wouldst be making *them* rude.

In thine own house, remain
 Behind, if they are thy superiors or equals :
 And, if thine inferiors, thou shalt seem
 No other than correct if thou dost the same.

Understand the like, if thou givest
 To eat to any persons out of thine own home :
 Also remain behind when it happens
 That thou art entertaining women.

Next consider about placing
 Each person in the post that befits him.
 Between relatives it behoves
 To place others midway sometimes.

And, in this, honour the more
 Those who are strangers, and retain the others by thyself :
 And keep cheerful
 Thy face and demeanour, and forbear with all.

Now I speak for every one.
 He who is helping, let him help in equal portions.
 He who is helped, let him not manœuvre
 For the best, but take the less good.

They must not be pressed ;
 For this is their own affair, and choice is free,
 And one forces the preference
 Of him who was abstaining, perhaps purposely.

He makes a fool of himself who prematurely lays aside
 His plate, while the others are still eating ;
 And he who untidily
 Turns the table into a receptacle for scraps ;

And he who sneers
 At what he does not like ; and he who hurries ;
 And he who picks and chooses
 Out of the viands which are in common ;

And those who seem more hungry
 At the end than at the beginning ;

And also he who sets to
At fortifying himself,¹ or exploring the bottom of the platter.

Nor do I think it looks quite well
To gnaw the bone with the tæeth, and still worse
To drop it into the saucepan ;²
Nor is salt well deposited on the dish.

And I think that he does amiss
Who carves, being at the table of his superior ;
For none can perform service
If he does not first ask leave.

With thine equal, begin,
If the knife lies at thy right hand :
If not, leave it to him.
With fruit, thou canst not fitly help thy companion.

With women, I need not tell thee :
But thou must help them to everything,
If there is not some one who undertakes
Both the carving and other details.

But always look to it
That thou approach not too close to any of them.
And, if one of them is a relative of thine,
Thou wilt give more room to the other.

And, in short, thou wilt then
Do and render honour to thine utmost :
And here always mind
That thou soil not their dress.

Look them in the face but little,
Still less at their hands while eating,
For they are apt to be bashful :
And with respect to them, thou mayst well say " Do eat."

When sometimes there come
Dishes or fruits, I praise him who thinks of avoiding
To take of those
Which cannot with cleanliness be handled.

Ill does the hand which hurries
To take a larger help out of a dish in common ;
And worse he who does not well avoid
To loll, or set leg upon leg.

¹ 'Chi vuol fare merli.' The phrase means literally 'he who wants to make battlements'—or possibly 'to make thrushes.' I can only *guess* at its bearing in the present passage, having searched for a distinct explanation in vain. It seems to be one of the myriad '*vezzi di lingua*' of old Italian, and especially old Tuscan, idiom.

² 'Di mandar a lavecchio.' I am far from certain as to the real meaning.

And be it observed
That here thou shouldst speak little and briefly :
Nor here must there be speech
Of aught save elegant and cheerful pleasantness.

I have shown thee above
Concerning the respect due to [thy lord], and saluting him.
I will now tell thee.
More than I before said concerning service.

Take care that, in every operation
Or service that thou dost before him,
Thou must think steadily
Of what thou art about, for it goes ill if thou art absent-minded.

Thou shouldst keep thine eye,
When thou servest him, on that which he likes.
The silent tongue is aright,
Always without questioning, during service ;

Also that thou keep thyself,
Thou who hast to serve, clean in dress and hands.
And I would have thee also serve strangers,
If they are at the meal with him.

Likewise have an eye to it
That thou keep things clean before him thou servest.
And thou dost well if thou keepest
The slice entire, if thou canst, in carving ;

And amiss if neglectfully
Thou makest too great a lump of the carved viands ;
And worse if thou art so long about it
That they have nothing to eat.

And, when there may be
Viands which make the hands uncleanly,
In some unobtrusive way
Get them washed by the time the next come on.

Thou shalt always be observant of the same
In bringing forward the fruits :
For to offer these about,
As I said before, befits not the guests.

Also I much complain
Of thee who wouldst then be correcting others :
For the present it must suffice thee,
In this case, to do right for thyself only.

He puts me out who has
So awkward a manner in cutting

That, in peeling a pear,
 He takes up from three to nine o'clock ;
 And also he who keeps not good guard
 Over his hand, and slips in cutting ;
 For he is prevented from serving,
 And his lord sometimes has no one to serve him.

I dislike that he who serves
 Should, in serving, speak of the doctor ;
 Unless maybe by way of obeying,
 When he has it in command from him.

In giving water thou shalt be careful,
 Considering the time and place :
 Where there is little, little ;
 In the cold time, less cold—and, if very cold, warm.

When the sun is very hot,
 Bring it abundantly, but mind the people's clothes.
 Observe the station and the ages,
 With regard to whom thou shalt begin with, if there is none to
 tell thee.¹

At table it behoves
 Not to give bad or offensive news ;
 Unless delay might produce
 Danger—and then only to the person concerned.

Be thy mouth abstinent
 From eating while the first table is set.
 In drinking do likewise,
 So far as gratification goes, but thirst excuses thee :

Which if thou feelest, accustom thyself
 Not to drink underhand, nor of the best.
 Neither is a servant liked
 Who afterwards is long over his eating,

If he is where he *can* do this ;
 And still less he who sulks if he is called
 When he has not yet done eating ;
 For he serves best who serves other than his gullet.'

¹ This precept, and especially a preceding one (p. 39) which enjoins the host to place the guests in their appropriate seats, keeping by himself those of less account, would seem to show that at this period the seats at the right and left of the host (or hostess) were by no means understood to be posts of honour. The absence of all mention, either in Bonvicino or in Barberino, of the hostess or her especial duties, strikes one as a singularity. That the hostess is nevertheless understood to be present may be fairly inferred from the clearly expressed presence of other ladies.

Before parting from the *Documenti d'Amore*, I will summarize a few more of Barberino's dicta on points of courtesy and demeanour in general.

There are seven offences in speaking: 1. Prolixity; 2. Curtness; 3. Audacity; 4. Mauvaise Honte; 5. Stuttering; 6. Beating about the bush; 7. Restlessness of gesture, and this is the least supportable of all. Remedies against all these evils are assigned. For the 6th, as we are told, the (then) modern usage is to speak out what you have to say with little or no proem. As to the 7th, the moving about, as a child would do, the hands, feet, or head, or the using action in speech, shows deficient firmness. See that you stand firm. Yet all this is to be modified according to place, time, and the auditory. (It is amusing to find the dignified Tuscan of the thirteenth to fourteenth century reprobating that luxuriance of gesture which is one of the first things to strike an English eye in Italy down to our own day—more especially in the southern parts of the country. To have striven to obey Barberino's precept, under pain of being pronounced bad company, must have proved hard lines to some of his contemporaries and catechumens.)

If you chance into uncongenial company, take the first opportune occasion for getting away, with some parting words that shall not bewray your antipathy.

To casual companions speak on their own respective subjects; as of God to the clergy, health to doctors, design to painters. 'With ladies of refinement and breeding, laud and uphold their honour and state by pleasant stories not oftentimes told already. And, if any one is contrary and froward, reply in excuse and defence; for it is derogatory to contend against those the overcoming of whom is loss.'

If you come into the company of a great lord, or of persons who are all your superiors, and if they invite you to speak, inquire what the topic shall be. If you find nothing to say, wait for some one else to start you; and at worst be silent. In such company, be there no gesturing (again!).

If you are walking with a great lord in any country, conform in a measure to the usages there prevalent.

Following your superior, be respectful; to your equal, com-

plaisant, and treat him as superior; and, even with your inferior, tend towards the same line of conduct. This, however, does not apply to your own servant. Better exceed than fall short in showing respect to unknown persons. If your superior, in walking with you, wants to have you by his side, go to his left as a general rule, so that he may have the full use of his sword hand. If it rains, and he has no cloak, offer him yours; and, even if he declines, you must still dispense with it yourself. The like with your hat. Pay similar attentions to your equal, or to one that is a little your inferior: and even to your positive inferiors you must rather overdo courtesy than fall short. Thus also with women: you must explore the way for them, and attend on them, and in danger defend them with your life.

In church, do not pray aloud, but silently.

Wait not to be saluted. Be first in saluting; but do not overdo this, and never reiterate a salutation. Your own lord you must not salute, unless he comes from afar. You should uncover to him: then, if he is covered, cover again. Do not exceed in saluting an intimate, but enter at once into conversation; and do not hug him, unless he and you are indeed one.¹ Bow to ladies without much speaking: and in towns ascertain the ordinary practice in such cases, and observe it. If you see a female relative in your own town, she being alone, or in company with only one person, *and if she is handsome*, accost her as though she were not your relative, unless your relationship is a fact known to the bystanders. (This is a master-touch: and here is another, of a nearly similar sort)—

In serving a man of distinction, if you meet his wife, affect not to observe her; and, if she gives you any commission to fulfil, don't show that it gratifies you.

The 16th '*Documento*' sets forth 'the method of making presents so that the gift be acceptable.' It is so admirable in point of both sense and expression that I quote the original in a note, secure that *that* will be a gift acceptable to all such readers of these pages

¹ Prettily worded in the Italian:

'Nè abbracciar stringendo,
Se non sei ben una cosa con quello.'

as may be readers of Italian also.¹ What can be more perfect than the censure awarded to those who are in a chafe until, by reciprocating any service rendered to them, they shall have wiped it out?

‘Be all aware
That it is no small flaw to mislike
Remaining under an obligation :
Nay, it then seems that one is liberal by compulsion.’

Barberino’s second work, *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne*, furnishes, strange to say, hardly any express rules for conduct at table ; but some details may, for our general purpose, be picked out of an emporium whose abundance can be surmised from the following programme.

1 Ancor c’è molta gente
Ch’han certi vizj in dono ed in servire,
Sì che poco gradire
Vediamo in lor quando ne fanno altrui :
Chè non pensano a cui,
Nè che nè come, nè tanto nè quanto.
Altri fanno un procanto
Di sue bisogne, e poi pur fanno il dono.
Ed altri certi sono
Che danno indugio, e credon far maggiore.
E molti che colore
Pongon a scusa, e poi pur fanno e danno.
Ed altri che, com’ hanno
Servigio ricevuto, affrettan troppo
Disobbligar lo groppo
Col qual eran legati alli serventi :
Onde sien tutti attenti
Che non è picciol vizio non volere
Obbligato manere ;
Anzi par poi che sforzato sia largo.
Dicemi alcuno : ‘Io spargo
Li don, per mia libertate tenere ;
Non per altrui piacere.’
Questo è gran vizio : ed è virtù maggiore,
E più porta d’onore,
Saver donar la sua persona altrui,
Ricevendo da lui,
E star apparecchiato a meritare.
E non ti vo’ lassare
Lo vizio di colui che colla faccia
Non vuol dar sì che piaccia,
Ma turba tutto, e sta gran pezza mutto.

'I will divide this work into 20 parts :
And each part
Shall present certain distinct grades,
As the foregoing reading shows.
The 1st will relate how a girl
Should conduct herself
When she begins to appreciate right and wrong,
And to fear shame.
2nd, How, when
She comes to a marriageable age.
3rd, How, when she has passed
The period for marriage.
4th, if, after she has given up the hope of ever
Obtaining a husband, it happens
That yet she gets one, and remains
At home awhile before going to him.
The 5th, How, after she is married ;
And how the first, and how
The second and third,
Up to fifteen days ; and the first month,
And the second and third ;
And how on to her end :
Both before having children, and afterwards, and if she
Has none : and how in old age.
The 6th, How, if she loses her husband :
And how if she is old ;
And how if she is of middle age ;
And how if she is left young ;
And how if she has children ;
And how if she is a grandmother ;
And how if she still
Remains mistress of her husband's property ;
And if she, being a widow, takes
The garb of religion.
The 7th sets forth
How she should comport herself
If she marries again ;
And how if to a better [husband],
And how if to a worse
And less wealthy one ;
And how if she yet goes to a third ;
And how, after she has become a widow,
And has again taken a husband,
She remains awhile at home
Before going to him ;
And how far re-marrying is praised or blamed.
8th, How, she

Who assumes the habit
 Of a religious order at home ;
 And how this is praised or no.
 9th, How, being shut up in a monastery
 In perpetual reclusion ;
 And how the Abbess, Superior, and Prioress,
 And every other Portress or Nun.
 10th, How she
 Who secludes herself alone
 Is named a Hermitess ; and wherein this is to blame.
 11th, How
 The maid who is
 In companionship with a lady ;
 And how if she is alone,
 And how if one among others in the like office.
 12th, How
 Every serving-woman shall conduct herself,
 Whether serving a lady alone, or a lady along
 With the master ; and also if any, by herself,
 Serves a master ; and how
 This is to be praised, and how not.
 13th, How,
 A nurse in the house, and how apart.
 14th, How,
 The female serf or slave ;¹

¹ The mention of a slave in a Florentine household of the late 13th or early 14th century may startle some readers. I translate the note which Signor Guglielmo Manzi, the editor of the *Reggimento*, supplies on this subject. 'Slavery, which abases mankind, and revolts humanity and reason, diminished greatly when the Christian religion was introduced into the Roman Empire—that religion being in manifest opposition to so barbarous a system. The more the one progressed in the world, the more did the other wane ; and, as Bodino observes in his book *De Republicâ*, slavery had ceased in Europe, to a great extent, by 1200. I shall follow this author, who is the only one to afford us some degree of light amid so great obscurity. In the year 1212 there were still, according to him, slaves in Italy ; as may be seen from the ordinances of William, King of Sicily, and of the Emperor Frederick II. for the kingdom of Naples, and from the decretals of the Popes Alexander III., Urban III., and Innocent III., concerning the marriages of slaves. The first of these Popes was elected in 1158, the second in 1185, and the third in 1198 ; so that the principle of liberty cannot be dated earlier than in or about 1250—Bartolo, who lived in the year 1300, writing (*Hostes de Captivis*, I.) that in his time there were no slaves, and that, according to the laws of Christendom, men were no longer put up to sale. This assertion, however, conflicts with the words of our author, who affirms that in his time—that is, at the commencement of the 14th century—the custom existed. But, in elucidation of Bartolo, it should be said that he implied that men were no longer sold, on the ground that this was prohibited by the laws of Christendom, and the edicts of sovereigns. In France it can be shown that in 1430 Charles VII. gave their

And how, being a serf,
 She may afterwards, through her conduct, obtain her liberty.
 15th, How
 Every kind of woman
 Of the common sort should behave,
 And of a lower and poorer sort; and all
 Save the bad ones of dissolute life
 Who sell their honour for money,—
 Whom I do not purpose
 To put in writing,
 Nor to make any mention of them,
 For they are not worthy to be named.
 16th treats
 Of certain general precepts
 To all women; and of their ornaments,
 And their adventures.
 17th, of their consolations.
 18th, because sometimes
 They must know how to speak and converse
 And answer, and be in company,
 Here will be treated upon questions of love
 And courtesy and breeding.
 19th treats
 Of certain motetts and messages¹
 Of ladies to knights,
 And of other sorts
 Of women and men.
 The 20th treats
 Of certain orisons.
 And in this part is the conclusion
 Of the book; and how I carry this book
 To the Lady who is above-named,²

liberty to some persons of servile condition; and even in the year 1548 King Henri II. liberated, by letters patent, those of the Bourbonnais: and the like was done throughout all his states by the Duke of Savoy in 1561. In the Hundred Tales of Boccaccio we have also various instances showing that the sale of free men was practised in Italy. These are in the 6th Tale of the 2nd Day, the story of Madonna Beritoia, whose sons remained in Genoa in serfdom; and in the 6th of the 5th Day, the story of Frederick, King of Sicily; and in the 7th of the same Day, the story of Theodore and Violante. It is therefore clear, from all this evidence, that, in the time of Messer Francesco, so execrable a practice was still prevalent; and, summing up all we have said, it must be concluded that serfdom, in non-barbarian Europe, was not entirely extinguished till the 16th century.'

¹ 'Mottetti e parlari.' Only a few specimens of these are given, and they are all sufficiently occult. Here is one. 'Grande a morte, o la morte. Di molte se grava morte. [Risponde Madonna] Dolci amorme, quel camorme, dunque amorme conveniarne.'

² This Lady is an ideal or symbolic personage—presumably Wisdom.

And how she receives it;
 And how the Virtues
 Come before her.'

The promise here is rich indeed, and the performance also is rich; though it may fairly be said that various sections fall considerably below one's expectations, and some of them are jejune enough. But, after every deduction has been made, the work fills a niche of its own, and without competitor.

I add a few of the details most germane to our purpose.

A young girl should drink but little, and that diluted. She must not loll at table, nor prop her arms thereon. Here she should speak even less than at other times. The daughters of Knights (Cavalier da Scudo), Judges, Physicians, or others of similar condition, had better learn the art of cooking, though possibly circumstances will not call upon them to put it in practice.

A Princess approaching the marriageable age should not go out to church; as she ought, as far as possible, to avoid being seen about. (The marriageable age, be it understood, is very early by Barberino's reckoning, being twelve years.) A woman should never go out alone.

An unmarried young lady had better wear a topaz, which is proved by experience to be an antidote to carnal desire.

A Provençal gentleman, who was praising his wife for her extreme simplicity in attire, was asked, 'Why then does she comb her hair?' He replied: 'To show that she is a woman, whose very nature it is to be trim in person.'

A Lady's-maid should not tell tales to her mistress of any peccadilloes of the husband: still less should she report to the husband anything against his wife, unless it be a grave and open misdoing.

The section concerning Nurses (Part 13) contains much curious matter: especially as showing how much reliance was placed upon swaddling and other details of infant management, for the improvement of good looks, and correction of blemishes. Here we find also that the system against which Rousseau waged such earnest war, of mothers' not suckling their own children, was already in full vigour in Barberino's time. He enters no protest against it; but does recommend mothers to follow the more natural plan, if they can, and 'so please God, and earn the children's love.'¹

A she-Barber must not ogle or flirt with her customers, but attend to her washes and razors. A Fruiteress must not put green leaves with old fruits, nor the best fruits uppermost, to take her customers in. A Landlady must not sell re-cooked victuals.

¹ Matteo Palmieri (see p. 58) indicates that the state of things was the same in his time, about 1430: he is more decided than Barberino in condemning it.

A shrew earns the stick sometimes ; nor should that form of correction be spared to women who gad about after fortune-tellers.

Beware of a Doctor who scrutinizes your pretty face more than your symptoms. Also of a Tailor who wants to serve you gratis, or who is over-officious in trying on your clothes : and beware still more of a Tailor who is tremulous. If you go to any balls where men are present, let it be by day, or at any rate with abundance of light.

The use of thick unguents is uncleanly, especially in hot weather ; it makes the teeth black, the lips green, and the skin prematurely old-looking. Baths of soft water, not in excess, keep the skin young and fresh : but those in which hot herbs are boiled scorch and blacken it. Dark hair becomes lighter by being kept uncovered, especially in moonlight.

‘ Courtesy is liberal magnificence, which suffers not violence, nor ingenuity, nor obligation, but pleases of itself alone.’

To these brief jottings I subjoin one extract of some length, descriptive of the marriage-festivity of a Queen. To abridge its details would be to strip it of its value : but I apprehend that some of these details require to be taken *cum grano salis*, Barberino having allowed himself a certain poetical license.

Now it behoves to dine.
 The trumpets sound, and all the instruments,
 Sweet songs and diversions around.
 Boughs, with flowers, tapestries, and satins,
 Strewn on the ground ; and great lengths of silk
 With fine fringes and broiderings on the walls.
 Silver and gold, and the tables set out,
 Covered couches, and the joyous chambers,
 Full kitchens and various dishes ;
 Donzels deft in serving,
 And among them damsels still more so.
 Tourneying in the cloisters and pathways ;
 Closed balconies and covered loggias ;
 Many cavaliers and people of worth,
 Ladies and damsels of great beauty.
 Old women hidden in prayer to God,
 Be they served there where they stay.
 Wines come in, and abundant comfits ;
 There are the fruits of various kinds.
 The birds sing in cages, and on the roofs :
 The stags leap, and fawns, and deer.
 Open gardens, and their scent spreads.
 There greyhounds and braches run in the leash.
 Pretty spaniel pets with the ladies :

Several parrots go about the tables.
 Falcons, ger-falcons, hawks, and sparrow-hawks,
 Carry various snakes all about.
 The palfreys houselled at the doors ;
 The doors open, and the halls partitioned
 As suits the people that have come.
 Expert seneschals and other officers.
 Bread of manna only, and the weather splendid.
 Fountains rise up from new springs :
 They sprinkle where they are wanted, and are beautiful.
 The trumpet sounds, and the bridegroom with his following
 Chooses his company as he likes.
 Ladies amorous, joyous, and lovely,
 Trained, and noble, and of like age,
 Take the bride, and usher her as befits :
 They give her place to sit at table.
 Now damsels and donzels around,
 The many ladies who have taken their seats,
 All prattle of love and joy.
 A gentle wind which keeps off the flies
 Tempers the air, and refreshes hearts.
 From the sun spring laughs in the fields :
 Nowhere can the eye settle.
 At your foot run delightful rills :
 At times the fish leap from the water.
 Jongleurs¹ clad by gift :
 Here vestments of fashion unprecedented,
 There with pearls and precious stones
 Upon their heads, and solemn garb :
 Here are rings which emit a splendour
 Like that of the sun outside.
 Now all the men and all the ladies have washed,
 And then the water is given to the bride :
 And I resume speaking of her deportment.
 Let her have washed her hands aforetime,
 So that she may then not greatly bedim the water.
 Let her not much set-to at washing in the basin,
 Nor touch mouth or teeth in washing :

¹ 'Uomin di corte.' This term was first applied to heralds, chamberlains, and the like court-officials: subsequently to the entertainers of a court, 'giullari,' jesters, and buffoons: and in process of time it came to include courtiers of whatever class. In the early writers—such as Barberino, Boccaccio, &c.—it is not always easy for a translator to pitch upon the precise equivalent: the reader should understand a personage who might be as romantic as a Troubadour, or as quaint as a Touchstone—but tending rather towards the latter extreme.

For she can do this afterwards in her chamber,
 When it shall be needful and fitting.
 Of the savoury and nicest viands
 Let her accept, but little, and avoid eating many :
 And let her, several days before, have noted
 The other customs above written ;
 Here let her observe those which beseem the place.
 Let her not intervene to reprehend the servitors,
 Nor yet speak, unless occasion requires.
 Let it appear that she hardly minds any diversion,
 But that only timidity quenches her pleasure :
 But let her, in eating, so manage her hands
 That, in washing, the clear water may remain.
 The table being removed, let her stay with the ladies
 Somewhat more freely than at her arrival :
 Yet for this day let her, I pray,
 Abstain from laughing as far as she can, keeping
 Her countenance so as not to appear out of humour,
 But only timid, as has often been said.
 If the other ladies sleep that day,
 Let her also repose among them,
 And prepare herself the better for keeping awake.
 Let her drinking be small. I approve a light collation,
 Eating little : and in like wise at supper
 Let her avoid too many comfits or fruits :
 Let her make it rather slight than heavy.

Some ladies make ready to go,
 And some others to retire to their chambers.
 Those remain who are in charge of her :
 All approach to cheer her.
 She embraces her intimates :
 Let her make the kindest demonstrations to all—
 ‘Adieu, adieu’—tearful at parting.
 They all cheer her up, and beg her to be
 Confident, and many vouch
 That her husband has gone to a distance :
 Her guardians say the same.
 They bring her inwards to a new chamber,
 Whose walls are so draped
 That nothing is seen save silk and gold ;
 The coverlets starred, and with moons.
 The stones shine as it were the sun :
 At the corners four rubies lift up a flame
 So lovely that it touches the heart :
 Here a man kindles inside and out.
 Richest cambrics cover the floor.

Here baldaquins and the benches around
 All covered with woven pearls;
 Pillows all of smooth samite,
 With the down of griffin-birds¹ inside;
 Many topazes, sapphires, and emeralds,
 With various stones, as buttons to these.
 Beds loaded on beds with no bedstead,
 Draped all with foreign cloths:²
 Above the others the chiefest and soft,
 With a new covering of byssus.³
 Of this the down is from the phoenix-bird:⁴
 It has one bolster and no more,
 Not too large, but of fine form.
 Over it sheets of worked silk,
 Soft, yielding, delicate, and durable:
 A superb quilt, and cuttings-out⁵ within;
 And, traced with the needle and of various cutting,
 Fishes and birds and all animals.
 A vine goes round the whole,
 The twigs of pearls, and the foliage of gems,
 Among which are those of all virtues,
 Written of or named as excellent.
 In the midst of it turns a wheel
 Which represents the figure of the world;
 Wherein birds, in windows of glass,
 Sing if you will, and if not they are all mute.
 There puppies of various kinds,
 Not troublesome, and they make no noise:
 If you call them, they make much of you.
 On the benches flowers heaped and strewn—
 Great is the odour, but not excessive:
 Much balsam in vessels of crystal.

¹ 'Uccelli grifoni.' This seems a daring suggestion: possibly, as a griffin is a compound of eagle and lion, we are to understand that the eagle is the griffin-bird.

² 'Drappi oltramarin'—which *may* mean foreign (from beyond sea), or else of ultramarine colour: I rather suppose the former.

³ 'Lana di pesce'—literally, fish's wool. The term is new to me, nor do I find it explained in dictionaries: I can only therefore surmise that it designates the silky filaments of certain sea-mollusks, such as the pinna of the Mediterranean. This byssus is still made use of in Italy for gloves and similar articles.

⁴ !!

⁵ 'Intagli;' and the next line gives the word 'Scolture. Giovanni Villani notes that in 1330 a prohibition was issued against 'dresses cut-out or painted:' the fashion having run into the extravagance of 'dresses cut-out with different sorts of cloth, and made of stuffs trimmed variously with silks.'

A nurse says : ' All things are yours.
You will lie by yourself in that bed :
We will all be sleeping here.'
They show her the wardrobe at one side,
Wherein they say that they remain keeping watch.
They wash the Lady's face and hands
With rose-water mixed with violets,
For in that country such is the wont.
They dress her hair, wind up her tresses,
Stand round about her, help her to disrobe.
Who takes her shoes off, happy she !
Her shoes are by no means of leather.
They look her in the face whether she is timorous :
She prays them to stay.
They tell her that they will sleep outside the bed,
At her feet, on the cloths I have spoken of.
They make-believe to do so, and the Lady smiles.
They put her to bed : first they hold her,—
They turn the quilt over : and, her face being displayed,
All the shows of gems and draperies
Wane before that amorous beauty
Which issues from the eyes she turns around.
Her visage shines : the nurses disappear :
The Lady closes her eyes, and sleeps.

Then these nurses trick the Lady.
They leave by the door which they had not shown her :
They go to the bridegroom who is waiting outside.
Him they tell of the trick.
There come around the new knight,
Young lord, puissant crown,
Many donzels and knights who wait
Solely for his chamber-service.
They give him water, as to the Lady :
His blond head each adorns,
Bright his countenance. Every one
Has gladness and joy, glad in his happiness.
They leave him in his jerkin, they bring him within :
They take off his shoes at the draped entry.
They all without, and the nurses at one side,
Stay quiet. A *réveillée* begins,
And so far off that it gives no annoy.

The comely King crosses himself, and looks :
The Lady and the gems make a great splendour,
And it seems to him that this Queen is asleep.
He enters softly, and wholly undresses :
It appears that the Lady heaves a sigh.

The King is scared : he covers himself up in the bed.
 He signals to the birds to sing :
 They all begin, one by one, and low.¹
 The signal tells them to raise their note :
 Higher they rise in singing—and perchance
 This noise may wake the Lady up.
 Again he signals that they should all trill louder.

The Lady heaves a sigh, and asks,
 'Who is there?'—Says the King : 'I am one
 Whom thy beauties have brought hither.'
 She is troubled, and calls the nurses.
 The King replies : 'I have turned them all out.
 She moves, wanting to get up :
 She finds no clothes, for they have carried them away.
 The King remains quiet, and waits to see
 In what way he may be able to please her,
 And says to her : 'I have only come hither
 To speak to thee a few words :
 Listen a little, and then I will go.'

An elaborate dialogue ensues, conducted on the most high-paced footing of enamoured courtesy. It contains the strangely beautiful passage translated in my brother's *Early Italian Poets*, and which I reproduce here ; taking therewith my leave both of this singular specimen of how Kings and Queens might, would, could, or should confer on their bridal-night, and also of Francesco da Barberino himself. The Queen is the speaker.

'Do not conceive that I shall here recount
 All my own beauty : yet I promise you
 That you, by what I tell, shall understand
 All that befits and that is well to know.
 My bosom, which is very softly made,
 Of a white even colour without stain,
 Bears two fair apples, fragrant, sweetly savoured,
 Gathered together from the Tree of Life
 The which is in the midst of Paradise.
 And these no person ever yet has touched ;
 For out of nurse's and of mother's hands
 I was when God in secret gave them me.

¹ These seem to be very obedient birds : and their position, behind glass windows in a globe figuring the world, was rather an odd one to modern notions. The reader will keep me company in guessing whether or not we are to take the whole description *au pied de la lettre*.

These ere I yield I must know well to whom ;
 And, for that I would not be robbed of them,
 I speak not all the virtue that they have :
 Yet thus far speaking— Blèssed were the man
 Who once should touch them, were it but a little :
 See them I say not, for that might not be.
 My girdle, clipping pleasure round-about,
 Over my clear dress even unto my knees
 Hangs down with sweet precision tenderly ;
 And under it Virginity abides.
 Faithful and simple and of plain belief
 She is, with her fair garland bright like gold,
 And very fearful if she overhears
 Speech of herself ; the wherefore ye perceive
 That I speak soft lest she be made ashamed.
 Lo ! this is she who hath for company
 The Son of God, and Mother of the Sòn.
 Lo ! this is she who sits with many in heaven :
 Lo ! this is she with whom are few on earth.'

Tiraboschi mentions a book which might perhaps be useful in further illustrating Italian manners at the end of the 13th century : but I have no direct knowledge of it,—a Treatise on the Governing of a Family, written by Sandro di Pippozzo in 1299. A treatise on Moral Virtues (*Sopra le Virtù Morali*) was composed by Graziolo de' Bombaglioli, a Bolognese, in Italian verse, with a comment in Latin, the date being about the middle of the 14th century ; and was published in 1642, being at that time mistakenly attributed to King Robert of Naples. It is not a Courtesy-Book ; but, referring back to what has been said (on p. 12) regarding the definitions of nobility given by Brunetto Latini, Dante, and Barberino, I may cite part of what Bombaglioli says on the same subject :

' Neither long-standing wealth nor blood confers nobility ;
 But virtue makes a man noble (*gentile*) ;
 And it lifts from a vile place
 A man who makes himself lofty by his goodness.'

A third and older book, no doubt very much to our purpose, would be one which Ubaldini (in his edition of Barberino's *Reggimento*) refers to as having been laid under contribution by that poet in compiling his *Documenti d'Amore*—viz. a rhymed composition, in the Romagnole dialect, on Methods of Salutation, by Ugolino Brucola

(or Bruzola). This work, again, is unknown to me; and, as I can trace no mention of it even in Tiraboschi, a writer of most omnivorous digestion, I infer that it may not improbably have perished.

Skipping therefore about a century and a quarter, within which Italian literature was made for ever illustrious by the *Commedia* of Dante, and the writings of Petrarca and Boccaccio, not to speak of others, we come to the early 15th century, still in Florence.

Agnolo Pandolfini wrote on the same subject as Sandro di Pippozzo, the Governing of a Family (*Del Governo della Famiglia*). He died in 1446, aged about 86; and the date of his treatise seems to be towards 1425—30. This work must not be confounded with one bearing the same title, frequently cited in the *Dizionario della Crusca*, and which deals more particularly with morals and religion. Pandolfini, both by birth and doings, was a very illustrious son of Florence: in 1414, 1420, and 1431, he held the highest dignity of the state, that of Gonfalonier of Justice. He opposed the banishment of Cosmo de' Medici, and was treated with distinguished honour by that great though dangerous citizen on his return. His treatise takes the form of a dialogue, wherein Agnolo holds forth *ore rotundo* to his sons and grandsons. The old gentleman is indeed fearfully oracular, and possessed with a fathomless belief in himself. He writes well, and with plenty of good sense. His book is not, in the strictest acceptation of the term, a Courtesy-Book, but rather a cross between the moral and the prudential—a dissertation of Economics. Here are some samples of his lore.

To choose a house wherein one can settle comfortably for life is a great consideration. A locality with good air and good wine should be sought out: better to buy it than to rent it. The whole family should have one roof, one entrance-door, one fire, and one dining-table: this subserves the purposes both of affection and of thrift.

The family and household should be well dressed. Even when living a country life, they should keep on the town dress: good cloth and cheerful colours, but without fancy-ornaments save for the women.

The head of the family should commit to his wife the immediate care of the household goods: men, however careful, should not be poking and prying into every corner, and looking whether the candles have too thick a wick. 'It is well for every lady to know

how to cook, and prepare all choice viands ; to learn this from cooks when they come to the house for banquets ; to see them at work, ask questions, learn, and bear in mind, so that, when guests come who ought to be received with welcome, the ladies may know and order all the best things—and so not have to send every time for cooks. This cannot be done at a moment's notice, and especially when one is in the country, where good cooks are not to be had, and strangers are more in the way of being asked. Not indeed that the lady is to cook ; but she should order, teach, and show the less skilful servants to do everything in the best way, and make the best dishes suitable to the season and the guests.'

'I [the infallible Agnolo Pandolfini] always liked so to order the household that, at whatever hour of day or night, there should always be some one at home to look after all casualties that might happen to the inmates. And I always kept in the house a goose and a dog—wakeful animals, and, as we see, suspicious and attached ; so that, one of them rousing the other, and calling up the household, the house might always be secure.'

Always buy of the best—food, clothes, &c., &c. 'Good things cost less than the not good.'

That Agnolo Pandolfini was regarded as a great authority not by himself alone is proved by the fact that Matteo Palmieri, the author of a Dialogue on Civil Life (*Della Vita Civile*), makes him the principal speaker. And this was perhaps even during Agnolo's lifetime : the assumed date of the colloquy being 1430 (very much the same as that of Pandolfini's own book), and the actual date of composition being probably enough not many years later. Palmieri was born in Florence in 1405, and died in 1475, honoured for conspicuous integrity, and distinguished by many public employments. The *Vita Civile* is regarded as his most important literary work. The interlocutors, besides Pandolfini, are a Sacchetti and a Guicciardini. The subject-matter is more grave and weighty than that of a Courtesy-Book strictly so called, though we may dip into it for a detail or two. The following is Palmieri's own account of the work :

'The whole performance is divided into four books. In the 1st the new-born boy is diligently conducted up to the perfect age of man ; showing by what nurture and according to what arts he should prove more excellent than others. The following two books are written concerning Uprightness ; and express in what manner the man of perfect age should act, in private and in public, according to every moral virtue. Whence, in the former of these, Temperance,

Fortitude, and Prudence, are treated of at large—also other virtues comprised in these. The next is 3rd in order, and is all devoted to Justice, which is the noblest part of men, and above all others necessary for maintaining every well-ordered commonwealth. Wherefore here is diffusely treated of Civil Justice; how people should conduct themselves in peace; and how wars are managed; how, within the city by those who hold the magistracies, and beyond the walls by the public officials, the general well-being is provided for. The last book alone is written concerning Utility, and provides for the plenty, ornament, property, and abundant riches, of the whole body politic. Then in the final portion, as last conclusion, is shown, not without true doctrine, what is the state of the souls which in the world, intent upon public good, have lived according to the precepts of life here set forth by us; in reward whereof they have been by God received into heaven, to be happy eternally in glory with his saints.'

Palmieri would have boys eschew any sedentary pastimes. They may jump, run, and play at ball; and music is highly suitable for them. To beat them is a barbarism. This may indeed, sometimes and perhaps, be necessary with boys 'who are to follow mechanical and servile arts,' but not with those who are carefully brought up by father and preceptor. Begin with encouragements to the well-behaved, and admonitions to the naughty: and the severer punishments should be 'to shut him in; to withhold such food and other things as he best likes, to take away his clothing, and so on; to make him ponder long while over his misdoing.' (This is singularly gentle discipline for A.D. 1430: indeed Palmieri intimates that 'almost all people' advocated manual correction in his time. Had any other writer, of so early a date, discovered that 'spare the rod and spoil the child' is not the sum-total of management for minors?)

A dinner-party is considered well made up, in point of numbers, if the persons present are not less than three, nor more than nine. A larger number than the latter cannot all join together in united conversation.

'The expenses of a munificent man should be in things that bring honour and distinction; not private, but public—as in buildings, and ornaments of churches, theatres, loggias, public feasts, games, entertainments; and in such like magnificences he should not compute nor reckon how much he spends, but by what means the works may be to the utmost wonderful and beautiful.' (Nice

doctrine this for some of our conscript fathers in England, whose perennial diligence is, as Carlyle says, 'preserving their game.' But the Florentine Republic was in that outcast condition that the noblemen were not only not hereditary legislators, but were *ipso facto* excluded from all public employment, unless they enrolled themselves in the commonalty by belonging to one of the legislating guilds.)

Both Pandolfini and Palmieri are authors of good repute in Italian literature : but by no means equal to the writer next on our list, Baldassar Castiglione, with his book named *The Courtier* (*Il Cortigiano*). This is a remarkably choice example of Italian prose ; which is the more satisfactory because Castiglione was not a Tuscan, but a Mantuan, and a proclaimed enemy of that narrow literary creed, the palladium of pedants and ever-recurring bane of strong individualism among Italian writers, that, save in the Florentine-Tuscan language (or dialect) of the '*buon secolo*,' the days of Petrarca and Boccaccio, there is no orthodoxy of diction. Some noticeable details on this point are to be found in the *Cortigiano* : showing that the ultra-purists of that time insisted upon the use by writers, whether Tuscan or belonging to other parts of Italy, of words occurring in Petrarca and Boccaccio already quite obsolete and hardly intelligible even in Tuscany—and also upon the use of corrupt forms of words framed from the Latin, because these pertained to the Tuscan idiom, even although correct forms of the same words were in current use in other Italian regions. In all such regards Castiglione claims for himself unfettered latitude of choice : the verbal precisian, scared at his theoretic license, is surprised and relieved to find that after all the book is not only endurable in style, even to his own punctilious ears, but particularly elegant.

Baldassar Castiglione was born on the 6th of December 1478¹ at Casatico, in the Mantuan territory. Noble and handsome, he grew up almost universally accomplished and learned ; a distinguished connoisseur ; and valued by all the most eminent men of his time. His full-length portrait appears in one of the frescoes of

¹ Tiraboschi says 1468 ; but that, as far as I can trace, is a mistake.

Raphael in the Stanze of the Vatican. He went on many embassies—among others, to England. Henry VIII., of whose youthful promise he speaks in the most rapturous terms, knighted him: the Emperor Charles V. said that by Castiglione's death chivalry lost its brightest luminary. His career closed at Toledo on the 2nd of February 1529. Among his writings are poems in Latin and Italian, but his chief work is the *Cortigiano*. This was composed between the years 1508 and 1518; and published in 1528, in a state which its author regarded as somewhat hurried and incomplete. It is written in the narrative form, but consisting principally of dialogue, or indeed of successive monologues; and purports to relate certain *conversazioni* (rightly to be so called) which were held in 1506 in the court of Urbino, for the delectation of the Duchess Elisabetta della Rovere (by birth a Gonzaga) and her ladies. The topic proposed for treatment is—what should a perfectly qualified Courtier be like? The principal speakers on the general subject are the Conte Lodovico da Canossa, Federico Fregoso, and Ottaviano Fregoso; Bernardo Bibiena takes up the special question of *facetie*, and Giuliano de' Medici speaks of the Court Lady, and generally in honour of women.

The term Courtier has not a very exalted sound to a modern or English ear: but Castiglione's ideal Courtier is a truly noble and gallant gentleman, furnished with all sorts of solid no less than splendid qualities. His ultimate *raison d'être* is that he should always, through good and evil report, tell his sovereign the strict truth of all things which it behoves him to know—certainly a sufficiently honourable and handsomely unfulfilled duty. The tone throughout is lofty, and of more than conventional or courtly rectitude:¹ indeed, the book as a whole is hardly what one associates mentally with the era of Pagan Popes,—of a Caesar Borgia just cleared off from Romagna, and an Alessandro de' Medici impending over Florence.

¹ It may be fair to state that the work, as first published, was put in the Roman index of prohibited books; and that the reissues (including no doubt the edition known to me) have omitted the inculpat passages. Whether these were objected to on moral or rather on ecclesiastical grounds I cannot affirm: the book as now printed is not only quite free from immoralities, but is decidedly moral, whereas there remains at least one passage of a tone such as churchmen resent *ex officio*.

Almost the only illustration which Castiglione supplies of the art of dining is the following anecdote :

‘The Marquis Federico of Mantua, father of our Lady Duchess, being at table with many gentlemen, one of them, after he had eaten a whole stew, said, “My Lord Marquis, pardon me ;” and, so saying, he began to suck up the broth that was left. Forthwith then said the Marquis : “You should ask pardon of the pigs, for to me there is no harm done at all !”’

Some other points I take as they come.

‘Having many a time reflected wherefrom Grace arises (not to speak of those who derive it from the stars), I find one most universal rule, which seems to me to hold good, in this regard, in all human things done and said, more than aught else ; and this is—to avoid affectation as much as one can, and as a most bristling and perilous rock, and (to use perhaps a new-coined word) to do everything with a certain slightingness [*sprezzatura*], which shall conceal art, and show that what is done and said comes to one without trouble and almost without thinking.’ Yet there may be as much affectation in slightingness itself as in punctilio. Instances adduced of the latter, as regards the care of the person, are the setting a scrap of looking-glass in a recess of one’s cap, and a comb in one’s sleeve, and keeping a page to follow one perpetually about with a sponge and a clothes-brush. Female affectations were ‘the plucking out the hair of eyebrows and forehead, and undergoing all those inconveniences which you ladies fancy to be altogether occult from men, and which nevertheless are all known.’

The perfect Courtier ought to know music—sing at sight, and play on various instruments ; he ought also to have a practical knowledge of drawing and painting. Better even than singing at sight is singing solo to the viol, and most especially thus singing in recitative [*per recitare*], ‘which adds to the words so much grace and force that great marvel it is.’ All stringed instruments are well suited for the Courtier ; not so wind-instruments, ‘which Minerva interdicted to Alcibiades, because they have an unseemly air.’ The Court Lady also ought to have knowledge of letters, music, and painting, as well as of dancing, and how to bear her part in entertainments [*festeggiare*].

‘Old men blame in us many things which, of themselves, are neither good nor bad, but only because *they* used not to do them : and they say that it is unbefitting for young men to go through the city riding, especially on mules ; to wear in the winter fur linings and long robes ; to wear a cap [*berretta*], at any rate until the man has reached eighteen years of age,—and other the like things. Wherein in sooth they mistake : for these customs, besides being convenient and serviceable, are introduced by fashion, and universally accepted,—as aforetime to dress in the open tunic [*giornea*], with open

hose and polished shoes, and for gallantry to carry all day a hawk on the fist for no reason, and to dance without touching the lady's hand, and to adopt many other modes which, as they would now be most awkward, so then were they highly prized.'

Federico Fregoso, the chief speaker of the second evening, is of opinion that a man of rank ought not to honour with his presence a village feast, where the spectators and company would be coarse people. To this Gaspar Pallavicino demurs; saying that, in his native Lombardy, many young noblemen will dance all day under the sun with country people, and play with them at wrestling, running, leaping, and so on—exercises of strength and dexterity in which the countrymen are often the winners. Fregoso rejoins that this, if done at all, should be not by way of emulation but of complaisance, and when the nobleman feels tolerably sure of conquering; and generally, in all sorts of exercises save feats of arms, he should stop short of anything like professional zeal or excellence. [A concluding hint worth consideration in these days of 'Athletic Clubs.']

The discourse of Bernardo Bibiena on *facetie* is a magazine of good things, both anecdotic, epigrammatic, and critical. The speaker is particularly severe on 'funny men' and 'jolly dogs'; concerning whom I venture to introduce one consecutive extract of some little length.

'THE COURTIER should be very heedful of his beginnings, so as to leave a pleasing impression, and should consider how baneful and fatal it is to fall into the contrary. And this danger do they more than others run who make it their business to be amusing, and assume with these their quips a certain liberty authorizing and licensing them to do and say whatever strikes them, without any consideration. Thus these people start off on matters whence, not knowing their way out again, they try to help themselves off by raising a laugh: and this also they do so scurvily that it fails; so that they occasion the severest tedium to those who see and hear them, and they themselves remain most crestfallen. Sometimes, thinking thus to be witty and lively, in the presence of ladies of honour, and often even in speaking to them, they set-to at uttering most nasty and indecent words: and, the more they see them blush, so much the more do they account themselves good courtiers: and ever and anon they laugh and plume themselves at so bright a gift which they think their own. But for no purpose do they commit so many imbecilities as in order to be thought "boon companions." This is that only name which appears to them worthy of praise, and which they vaunt more than any other; and, to acquire it, they bandy the most blundering and vile blackguardisms in the world. Often will they shove one another down-stairs; knock ribs with bludgeons and bricks; throw handfuls of dust into the eyes; and bring down people's horses upon them in ditches, or on the slope of a hill. Then, at

table, soups, sauces, jellies, all do they flop in one another's face : and then they laugh ! And he who can do the most of these things accounts himself the best and most gallant courtier, and fancies he has gained great glory. And, if sometimes they invite a gentleman to these their pleasantries, and he abstains from such horse-play, forthwith they say that he makes himself too sage and grand, and is not a "boon companion." But worse remains to tell. There are some who vie and wager which of them can eat and drink the most nauseous and fetid things ; and these they hunt up so abhorrent to human senses that it is impossible to mention them without the utmost disgust.—"And what may these be ?" said Signor Lodovico Pio.—Messer Federico replied : "Let the Marquis Febus [da Ceva] tell you, as he has often seen them in France ; and perhaps the thing has happened to himself."—The Marquis Febus replied : "I have seen nothing of the sort done in France that is not also done in Italy. But, on the other hand, what is praiseworthy in Italian habits of dress, festivities, banqueting, fighting, and whatever else becomes a courtier, is all derived from the French."—"I deny not," answered Messer Federico, "that there are among the French also most noble and unassuming cavaliers : and I for my part have known many truly worthy of all praise. Yet some are to be found by no means well-bred : and, speaking generally, it appears to me that the Spaniards get on better in manner with the Italians than the French do ; since that calm gravity peculiar to the Spaniards seems to me much more conformable to us than the rapid liveliness which is to be recognized almost in every movement of the French race—which in them is not derogatory, and even has grace, because to themselves it is so natural and appropriate that it indicates no sort of affectation in them. There are indeed many Italians who would fain force themselves to imitate that manner ; and they can manage nothing else than jogging the head in speaking, and bowing sideways with a bad grace, and, when they are walking about, going so fast that the grooms cannot keep up with them. And with these modes they fancy they are good French people, and partake of their offhand ways : a thing indeed which seldom succeeds save with those who have been brought up in France, and have got into these habits from childhood upwards."

The reader will probably agree with me in thinking that Castiglione's own opinion is expressed here rather in the speech of Federico Fregoso than of the Marquis Febus ; and that the all-accomplished Italian patrician of the opening sixteenth century by no means regarded the French as the courteous nation *par excellence*. Elsewhere it is remarked that the French recognize nobility in arms only, and utterly despise letters and literary men ; and that presumption is a leading trait in the national character.

Castiglione does not seem to have entertained the same objection to gesturing that Francesco da Barberino did. In amusing narration or story-telling, at any rate, he approves of this accompaniment; speaking of people who 'relate and express so pleasantly something which may have happened to them, or which they have seen or heard, that with gestures and words they set it before your eyes, and make you almost lay your hand upon it.'

The banefulness of a wicked Courtier is set forth in strong terms.

'No punishment has yet been invented horrid and tremendous enough for chastising those wicked Courtiers who direct to a bad end their elegant and pleasant manners and good breeding, and by these means creep into the good graces of their sovereigns, to corrupt them, and divert them from the path of virtue, and lead them into vice: for such people may be said to infect with mortal poison, not a vessel of which one only person has to drink, but the public fountain which the whole population uses.'

The last two authors on our list, Giovanni Battista Possevini and Giovanni della Casa, will bring us to about the middle of the sixteenth century; beyond which I do not propose to pursue the subject of Italian Courtesy-Books. We are now fairly out of the middle ages, and in the full career of transition from the old to the new. Indeed, were it not that Della Casa's work, *Il Galateo*, is so peculiarly apposite to our purpose, I might have been disposed to leave both these writers aside as a trifle too modern in date: but, coming closer as that does to the exact definition of a Courtesy-Book than any other of the compositions which we have been considering, it must perforce find admission here,—and a few words may at the same time be spared to Possevini, who introduces us to a special department of manners. And first of Possevini.

'This writer was (like Castiglione) a Mantuan, and died young—perhaps barely aged thirty. A famous man of letters, Paolo Giovio, found him to be 'a son of melancholy, and so learned, according to the title of Christ on the cross,¹ as to make one marvel: he is a good poet.' The book we have to deal with is of considerable size, a

¹ A noticeable proverbial phrase. It is new to me; but I suppose it means either 'learned in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin' (the three languages in which the inscription over the cross was written), or else perhaps 'learned in languages generally.'

Dialogue concerning Honour (*Dialogo dell' Onore*): it was published in 1553, after the author's death, which seems to have occurred towards 1550. Possevini is charged with having borrowed freely from another writer, who devoted himself to the denunciation of duelling, Antonio Bernardi; although indeed the *publication* of Bernardi's book did not take place till some years after the posthumous work of Possevini was in print. The special subject of the latter, as we have said, is honour—the quality and laws of honour, with a leading though not exclusive reference to the duelling system. Many other Italian writers of this period discussed that latter question, some upholding and some reprobating the institution. Possevini is certainly not one of its adversaries, but debates many of the ancillary points with the particularity of a casuist. The few items which I shall extract are cited more as curiosities than as fairly representing the substance of the book.

A man of letters affronted by a military man is not—so Possevini lays it down—bound to call him out, for the duel is not his vocation. If he is depreciated in his literary character, it is in writing that he should respond: if he is otherwise damnified, let him appeal to the magistrate. But this latter course is not permitted to a soldier: fighting is his business, and he must have recourse to the sword. The maxim that, in duel, one is bound either to slay one's adversary, or take him prisoner, is barbarous: it should suffice to make him recant or apologize, or to wound him, or to reduce him to surrender and humiliation.

A man who marries a professional courtesan lowers himself; yet not so far as that he can properly be refused as a duellist, or as a magistrate, or in other matters pertaining to honour. A husband who connives at his own dishonour, either by positive intention or by stupidity exceeding a certain limit, should be refused as above; not so a betrayed husband who has taken any ordinary precautions. The husband who detects his wife in adultery, without resenting it, is a dishonoured man: yet to kill her is beyond the mark,—to divorce her, contrary to canon law. He should obtain a legal abrogation of the wife's dowry, or else, as a milder course, send her back to her own people, and have no sort of knowledge of her thenceforth.

Monsignor Giovanni della Casa, created Archbishop of Benevento in 1544, was born of noble Florentine parentage on the 28th of June 1503, and died on the 14th of November 1556. He ranks as one of the best Latin and Italian poets of his century; but some of

his poems are noted for licentiousness, and are even reputed to have damaged his ecclesiastical career, and lost him a Cardinal's hat. The works thus impugned appear all to belong to his youth. He had already obtained some church-preferment, and was settled in Rome, by the year 1538. On the election of Pope Julius III., in 1550, Della Casa lived privately in the city or territory of Venice, in great state, and distinguished for courteous and charitable munificence. Paul IV., who succeeded to the papacy in 1555, recalled him to Rome, and created him Secretary of State.

The *Galateo* (written, I presume, somewhere about 1550) has always been a very famous book in Italy; and of that sort of fame which includes great general as well as literary acceptance. It is a model of strong sententious Tuscan; approaching the pedantic, yet racily idiomatic at the same time. The title in full runs *Galateo, or concerning Manners; wherein, in the Character of an Elderly Man [Vecchio Idiota] instructing a Youth, are set forth the things which ought to be observed and avoided in ordinary intercourse.* The paragraphs are numbered, and amount to 180.¹ The name *Galateo* is

¹ That most capital and characteristic book, the Autobiography of the tragedian Alfieri, contains a reference to the *Galateo*, which, longish as it is, I am tempted to extract. 'My worthy Paciaudi was wont to advise me not to neglect, amid my laborious readings, works in prose, which he learnedly termed the nurse of poetry. As regards this, I remember that one day he brought me the *Galateo* of Della Casa; recommending me to ponder it well with respect to the turn of speech, which assuredly is pure Tuscan, and the reverse of all Frenchifying. I, who in boyhood had (as we all have) read it loosely, understood it little, and relished it not at all, felt almost offended at this schoolboyish and pedantic advice. Full of venom against the said *Galateo*, I opened it. And, at the sight of that first *Conciossiacosachè*, to which is trailed-on that long sentence so pompous and so wanting in pith, such an impulse of rage seized me that, hurling the book out of window, I cried like a maniac: "Surely a hard and disgusting necessity, that, in order to write tragedies at the age of twenty-seven, I must swallow down again this childish chatter, and relax my brain with such pedantries!" He smiled at my uneducated poetic *furor*; and prophesied that I would yet read the *Galateo*, and that more than once. And so it turned out; but several years afterwards, when I had thoroughly hardened my neck and shoulders to bear the grammatical yoke. And I read not only the *Galateo*, but almost all our prose writers of the fourteenth century, and annotated them too: with what profit I cannot say. But true it is that, were any one to give them a good reading as regards their turn of phrase, and to manage availing himself with judgment and skill of their array, rejecting the cast clothes of their ideas, he might perhaps afterwards, in his writings as well philosophic as poetic or historic, or of any other class, give a richness, brevity, propriety, and force of

given to the book in consequence of a little anecdote which it introduces, apparently from real life. There was once a Bishop of Verona named Giovanni Matteo Giberti, noted for liberality. He entertained at his house a certain Count Ricciardo—a highly accomplished nobleman, but addicted (*proh pudor!*) to eating his victuals with ‘an uncouth action of lips and mouth, masticating at table with a novel noise very displeasing to hear.’ The Bishop therefore deemed it the kindest thing he could do to have the Count escorted on his homeward way by a remarkably discreet, well-bred, and experienced gentleman of the episcopal household, named Galateo, who wound up a handsome compliment at parting with a plain exposition of the guest’s peccadillo. His own misdoing was news to the Count: but he took the information altogether in good part, and seriously promised amendment.

Let us now dip into the *Galateo* for a few axioms; first on dining, and afterwards on other points of manners.

You must not smell at the wine-cup or the platter of any one, not even at your own; nor hand the wine which you have tasted to another, unless your very intimate friend; still less offer him any fruit at which you have bitten. Some monsters thrust their snouts, like pigs, into their broth, and never raise their eyes or hands from the victuals, and gorge rather than eat with swollen cheeks, as if they were blowing at a trumpet or a fire; and, soiling their arms almost to the elbows, make a fearful mess of their napkins.¹ And these same napkins they will use to wipe off perspiration, and even to blow their noses. You must not so soil your fingers as to make the napkin nasty in wiping them: neither clean them upon the bread which you are to eat: [we should hope not]. In company, and most especially at table, you should not bully nor beat any servants;

colour, to his style, which I have not as yet seen fully gracing any Italian writer.’ A word or two may be spared to the formidable-looking vocable *Conciossiacosachè* which so excited Alfieri’s bile. It might be translated literally as ‘Herewith-be-something-that;’ and corresponds in practice to the English ‘Forasmuch as’—or more briefly ‘since,’ or ‘as.’ The Italian word *poichè* serves all the same uses, save that of longwindedness. But *Conciossiacosachè* itself is not lengthy enough for some Italian lips: and I believe that even the phrase into which it has sometimes been prolonged—‘Con ciò sia cosa fosse massimamente che’—has been used for other than burlesquing purposes.

¹ The comparison whereby our Archbishop illustrates the condition of the napkins must perfume our page only in its native Italian—‘Che le pezze degli agiamenti sono più nette.’

nor must you express anger, whatever may occur to excite it; nor talk of any distressful matters—wounds, illnesses, deaths, or pestilence. If any one falls into this mistake, the conversation should be dexterously changed: ‘although, as I once heard said by a worthy man our neighbour, people often would be as much eased by crying as by laughing. And he affirmed that with this motive had the mournful fictions termed tragedies been first invented: so that, being set forth in theatres, as was then the practice, they might bring tears to the eyes of those who had need of this, and thus they, weeping, might be cured of their discomfort. But, be this as it may, for us it is not befitting to sadden the minds of those with whom we converse, especially on occasions when people have met for refreshment and recreation, and not to cry: and, if any one languishes with a longing to weep, right easy will it be to relieve him with strong mustard, or to set him somewhere over the smoke.’ You should not scratch yourself at table, nor spit; or, if spit you must, do it in a seemly way. Some nations have been so self-controlling as not to spit at all.¹ ‘We must also beware of eating so greedily that hence comes hiccupping or other disagreeable act; as he does who hurries so that he has to puff and blow, to the annoyance of the whole company.’ Rub not your teeth with the napkin—still less with your fingers: nor rinse out your mouth, nor spit forth wine. ‘Nor, on rising from table, is it a nice habit to carry your toothpick² in your mouth, like a bird which is in nest-building,—or behind the ear, like a barber.’ You must not hang the toothpick round your neck: it shows that you are ‘overmuch prepared and provided for the service of the gullet,’ and you might as well hang your spoon in the same way. Neither must you loll on the table; nor by gesture or sound symbolize your great relish of viands or wine—a habit fit only for tavern-keepers and toppers. Also you should not put people out of countenance by pressing them to eat or drink.

‘To present to another something from the plate before oneself does not seem to me well, unless he who presents is of much the

¹ This is affirmed by Xenophon of the Persians: he says in the *Cyropædia* that, both of old and in his own time, they did without either spitting or blowing the nose—a proof of temperance, and of energetic exercise which carried off the moisture of the body.

² *Stecco*. ‘Toothpick’ is the only appropriate technical sense for *stecco* given in the dictionaries; and I suppose it is correct here, although Della Casa’s very next sentence, denouncing the carrying of this implement round the neck, designates it by the word *stuzzicadenti*, and it seems odd that the two terms should be thus juxtaposed or opposed. If *stecco* does not in this passage really mean ‘toothpick,’ I should infer that it indicates some skewer-like object, used possibly as a fork—i. e. to secure the viands on the plate, while they are severed with a spoon, and by that conveyed to the mouth (see pp. 21 and 34 as to the use of spoon instead of fork in Bonvicino’s time). This would in fact be a sort of chop-stick. Such an inference is quite compatible with the *general* sense of the word *stecco*—any stake or splint of wood.

higher grade, so that the recipient is thereby honoured. For, among equals in condition, it looks as if he who offers the gift were setting himself up somehow as the superior: and sometimes that which a man gives is not to the taste of him it is given to. Besides, it implies that the dinner has no abundance of dishes, or is not well distributed, when one has too much, and another too little: and the master of the house might take it as an affront. However, in this one should do as others do, and not as it might be best to do in the abstract: and in such fashions it is better to err along with others than to be alone in well-doing. But, whatever may be the best course in this, you must not refuse what is offered you; for it would seem as if you slighted or reproved the donor.'

For one man to pledge another in the wine-cup is not an Italian usage, nor yet rightly nationalized, and should be avoided. Decline such an invitation; or confess yourself the worse drinker, and give but one sip to your wine. 'Thank God, among the many pests which have come to us from beyond the mountains, this vilest one has not yet reached us, of regarding drunkenness as not merely a laughing-matter, but even a merit.' The only time when you should wash hands in company is before going to table: you should do it then even though your hands be quite clean, 'so that he who dips with you into the same platter may know that for certain.'

Well-bred servitors, serving at table, must on no account scratch their heads or any other part of the body, nor thrust their hands anywhere under their clothes out of sight, but keep them 'visible and beyond all suspicion,' and scrupulously clean. Those who hand about plates or cups must abstain from spitting or coughing, and most especially from sneezing. If a pear or bread has been set to toast, the attendant must not blow off any ash-dust, but jog or otherwise nick it off. He must not offer his pocket-handkerchief to any one, though it be clean from the wash; for the person to whom it is offered has no assurance of that fact, and may find it distasteful. The usher must not take it upon himself to invite strangers, or to retain them to dine with his lord: if he does so, no one who knows his place will act on the invitation.

Scraping the teeth together, whistling, screaming, grinding stones, and rubbing iron, are grievous noises: and a man who has a bad voice should eschew singing, especially a solo. Coughing and sneezing must not be done loud. 'And there is also to be found such a person as, in yawning, will howl and bray like an ass; and another who, with his mouth still agape, *will* go on with his talk, and emits that voice, or rather that noise, which a mute produces when he tries to speak.' Indeed, much yawning should be altogether avoided: it shows that your company does not amuse you, and that you are in a vacant mood. 'And thus, when a man yawns among others who are idle and unoccupied, all they, as you may often have observed, yawn forthwith in response; as if the man had recalled to

their memory the thing which they would have done before, if only they had recollected it.' Other acts discourteous to the company you are in are—to fall asleep; to pace about the room, while others are seated in conversation; to take a letter out of your pouch, and read it; to set about paring your nails; or to hum between your teeth, play the devil's tattoo, or swing your legs. Also you must not nudge a man with your elbow in talking to him. Let us have no showing of tongue, nor overmuch stroking of beard, nor rubbing-together of hands, nor heaving of long-drawn sighs, nor shaking oneself up with a start, nor stretching, and singing-out of 'Dear me!'

Having used your pocket-handkerchief, don't open 'it out to inspect it.

'They are in the wrong whose mouths are always full of their babies, and their wife, and their nurse. "My little boy yesterday made me laugh so—only hear." "You never saw a sweeter child than my Momus." "My wife is so-and-so." "Said Cecchina:¹ and could you ever believe it of such a scatterbrain?" There is no man so unoccupied that he can either reply or attend to such nonsense: and the speaker becomes a nuisance to everybody.'

In walking, you should not indulge in too much action, as by sawing with your arms; nor should you stare other passers-by in the face, as if there were some marvel there.

'Now what shall I say of those who issue from the desk into company with a pen behind the ear? or those who hold a handkerchief in the mouth? or who lay one leg along the table? or who spit on their fingers?'

Some people offend by affected humility, which is indeed a practical lying. 'With these the company has a bad bargain whenever they come to a door; for they will for no consideration in the world pass on first, but they step across, and return back,—and so fence and resist with hands and arms that at every third step it becomes necessary to battle with them, and this destroys all peace and comfort, and sometimes the business which is in hand.'

This last caveat leads on the author to a passage of importance regarding ceremoniousness in general; from which we learn that that extreme of etiquette was still almost an innovation in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, and contrary to the national bias. This may surprise some readers; for certainly the courteous Italian of the later period, for all his characteristic 'naturalness,' has not been wanting in ceremony, and the elaboration of politeness of phrase in his writing is something observable—at least to Englishmen, the

¹ Cecchina is a double diminutive of Francesca; corresponding to 'Fannikin' or 'Fan.'

least ceremonious nation, I suppose, under heaven (and that is by no means a term of disparagement). I subjoin the passage from Della Casa, not a little condensed; followed by another, still more abridged, concerning the essence and right of elegant manners.

‘And therefore ceremonies (which we name, as you hear, by a foreign word, as not having one of our own—which shows that our ancestors knew them not, so that they could not give them any name)—ceremonies, I say, differ little, to my thinking, from lies and dreams, on account of their emptiness. As a worthy man has more than once shown me, those solemnities which the clergy use in relation to altars and the divine offices, and towards God and sacred things, are properly called “ceremonies.” But, as soon as men began to reverence one the other with artificial fashions beyond what is fitting, and to call each other “master” and “lord,” bowing and cringeing and bending in sign of reverence, and uncovering, and naming one another by far-sought titles, and kissing hands, as if theirs were sacred like those of priests,—somebody, as this new and silly usage had as yet no name, termed it “ceremoniousness”: I think, by way of ridicule. Which usage, beyond a doubt, is not native to us but foreign and barbarous, and imported, whencesoever it be, only of late into Italy,—which, unhappy, abased, and spiritless in her doings and influence, has grown and gloried only in vain words and superfluous titles. Ceremonies, then,—if we refer to the intention of those who practise them—are a vain indication of honour and reverence towards the person to whom they are addressed, set forth in words and shows, and concerned with titles and proffers. I say “vain” in so far as we honour in seeming those whom we hold in no reverence, and do sometimes despise. And yet, that we may not depart from the customs of others, we term them “*Illustrissimo Signor*” so-and-so, and “*Eccellentissimo Signor*” such-a-one: and in like wise we sometimes profess ourselves “most devoted servants” to some one whom we would rather dis-serve than serve. This usage, however, it is not for us individually to change—nay, we are compelled (as it is not our own fault, but that of the time) to second it; but this has to be done with discretion. Wherefore it is to be considered that ceremonies are practised either for profit, or for vanity, or by obligation. And every lie which is uttered for our own profit is a fraud and sin and a dishonest thing (as indeed one cannot in any sort of case lie with honour): and this sin do flatterers commit. And, if ceremonies are, as we said, lies and false flatteries, whenever we practise them with a view to gain we act like false and bad men: wherefore, with that view, no ceremony ought to be practised. Those which are practised by obligation must in no wise be omitted; for he who omits them is not only disliked but injurious. And thus he who addresses a single person as “*You*” (if it is not a person of the very lowest condition)

does him no favour: nay, were he to say "*Thou*," he would derogate from his due, and act insultingly and injuriously, naming him by the word which is usually reserved for poltroons and clodhoppers. And these I call "ceremonies of obligation": since they do not proceed from our own will, nor freely of our own choice, but are imposed upon us by the law—that is, by common usage. And he who is wont to be termed "*Signore*" by others, and himself in like manner to address others as "*Signore*," assumes that you condemn him or speak affrontingly when you call him simply by his name, or speak to him as "*Messere*," or blurt out a "*You*."¹ However, in these ceremonies of obligation, certain points should be observed, so that one may not seem either vain or haughty. And first, one should have regard to the country one lives in; for every usage is not apposite in every country. And perhaps that which is adopted by the Neapolitans, whose city abounds in men of great lineage, and in barons of lofty station, would not suit the Lucchese or Florentines, who for the most part are merchants and simply gentlemen, having among them neither princes nor marquises nor any baron. Besides this, regard must be paid to the occasion, to the age and condition of the person towards whom we practise ceremony, and to our own; and, with busy people, one should cut them off altogether, or at any rate shorten them as much as one can, and rather imply than express them: which the courtiers in Rome are very expert in. Neither are men of great virtue and excellence in the habit of practising many; nor do they like or seek that many be practised towards them, not being minded to waste much thought over futilities. Nor yet should artisans and persons of low condition care to practise very elaborate ceremonies towards great men and lords: for these rather than otherwise dislike such demonstrations at their hands—for their way is to seek and expect obedience more than civilities. And thus the servant who proffers his service to his master makes a mistake: for the master takes it amiss, and esteems that the servant wants to call in question his mastership,—as if his right were not to dictate and command. If you show a little suitable abundance of politeness to those who are your inferiors, you will be called courteous. And, if you do the same to your superiors, you will be termed well-bred and agreeable. But he who should in this matter be excessive and profuse would be blamed as vain and frivolous; and perhaps even worse would befall him, for he might be held evil and sycophantic. And this is the third kind of ceremonies, which does indeed proceed from our will, and not from usage. Let us then recollect that ceremonies (as I said from the first) were naturally not necessary,—on the contrary, people

¹ The English reader may fancy that this passage conflicts with that which immediately precedes: but such is not the case. In the earlier passage, the use of *You* was recommended as more civil than *Thou*: in the later passage, the use of *Vossignoria* (or other the like impersonal term, where appropriate) as more respectful than *You*.

got on perfectly well without them : as our own nation, not long ago, did almost wholly. But the illnesses of others have infected us also with this and many other infirmities. For which reasons, when we have submitted to usage, all the residue in this matter that is superfluous is a kind of licit lying : or rather, from that point onwards, not licit but forbidden—and therefore a displeasing and tedious thing to noble souls, which will not live on baubles and appearances. Vain and elaborate and superabundant ceremonies are flatteries but little covert, and indeed open and recognized by all. But there is another sort of ceremonious persons who make an art and trade of this, and keep book and document of it. To such a class of persons, a giggle ; and to such another, a smile. And the more noble shall sit upon the chair, and the less noble upon the settle. Which ceremonies I think were imported from Spain into Italy. But our country has given them a poor reception, and they have taken little root here ; for this so punctilious distinction of nobility is a vexation to us :¹ and therefore no one ought to set himself up as judge, to decide who is more noble, and who less so.—To speak generally, ceremoniousness annoys most men ; because by it people are prevented from living in their own way—that is, prevented from liberty, which every man desires before all things else.’

‘ Agreeable manners are those which afford delight, or at least do not produce any vexation, to the feelings, appetite, or imagination, of those with whom we have to do. A man should not be content with doing that which is right, but should also study to do it with grace. And grace [*leggiadria*] is as it were a light which shines from the fittingness of things that are well composed and well assorted the one with the other, and all of them together ; without which measure even the good is not beautiful, and beauty is not pleasurable. Therefore well-bred persons should have regard to this measure, both in walking, standing, and sitting, in gesture, demeanour, and clothing, in words and in silence, and in rest and in action.’

Besides the *Galateo*, Monsignor della Casa has left another and shorter *Tractate on Amicable Intercourse between Superiors and Inferiors* (*Trattato degli Uffici Comuni tra gli Amici Superiori e Inferiori*). This deals not so much with the relation between those who are rich and those who are poor in the gifts of fortune, taken simply on that footing, as with the connection between

¹ This is, I think, still a national trait among Italians, and a most creditable one : the endless grades and sub-grades, shades and demi-shades, of good society, as maintained in England (with an instinct comparable to the marvellous power of a bat to wing its dark way amid any number of impediments, and to be impeded by none of them), are unintelligible to ordinary Italians—or, where intelligible, detestable. Long may they remain so !

master and servant, patron and client, magnate and dependent. The tone is grave and humane, with an adequate share of worldly wisdom interspersed. The opening is interesting and suggestive; and shows that the great 'Servant Controversy,' of which the pages of English daily newspapers are now almost annually conscious in the dull season, was by no means unknown to Italy in the sixteenth century:—

'I apprehend that the ancients were free from a great and continual trouble; having their households composed, not of free men, as is our usage, but of slaves, of whose labour they availed themselves, both for the comforts of life, and to maintain their repute, and for the other demands of society. For, as the nature of man is noble, copious, and erect, and far more apt to commanding than obeying, a hard and odious task do those undertake who assume to exercise masterdom over it, while still bold and of undiminished strength, as is done now-a-days. To the ancients, in my judgment, it was no difficult or troublesome thing to command those who were already quelled and almost domesticated—people whom either chains, or long fatigues, or a soul servile from very childhood, had bereaved of pride and force. We on the contrary have to do with souls robust, spirited, and almost unbending; which, through the vigour of their nature, refuse and hate to be in subjection, and, knowing themselves free, resist their masters, or at least seek and demand (often with reason, but sometimes also without) that in commanding them some measure be observed. Whence it arises that every house is full of complaints, wranglings, and questionings. And certainly this is the fact; because we are unjust judges in our own cause,—and, as it is true that everybody unfairly prizes his own affairs higher than those of others, albeit of equal value, and consequently always persuades himself that he has given more than he has received, the thing cannot go on *pari passu*. Hence comes the wearisome complaint of the one, "I have worn myself out in your house;" and the rebuke of the other, "I have maintained and fed you, and treated you well."'

I can afford only one more extract from this treatise; which indeed handles its general subject-matter more on the ground of fairness, good-feeling, and expedient compromise of conflicting claims, than as a question of courtesy—though neither is that left out of view.

'In giving orders and assigning duties which have to be fulfilled, let regard be paid to the condition of the individuals; so that, if anything uncleanly is to be done, that be allotted to the lowest, and it come not to pass (as some perverse-natured people will have

it) that noblemen¹ should sweep the house, and carry slops out of the chambers. Let not things of much labour be committed to the weak, nor the degrading to the well-mannered, nor the frivolous and sportful to the aged. Moreover let the masters be heedful not to impose upon any one anything of uncommon difficulty or labour or painstaking, unless of necessity or for some great cause ; for the laws of humanity command us not to make a call upon a man's diligence and solicitude beyond what is reasonable, or as if in levity—especially if it exceeds the ordinary bounds.'

With this I shut up Della Casa's volume, and take final leave of my reader—trusting that, after perusing, skimming, or skipping, so much matter concerning Courtesy, he will part from me on the terms of (at lowest) a 'courteous reader,' in more than the merely conventional sense.

¹ *Nobili*. I presume this is to be understood literally ; the household in which noblemen could be thus employed being of course one of exalted position.

EARLY
GERMAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

AN ACCOUNT OF

The Italian Guest by Thomasin von Zirclaria,

OF

‘HOW THE KNIGHT OF WINSBEKE TAUGHT HIS SON,
AND THE LADY OF WINSBEKE HER DAUGHTER,’

The German Cato,

AND

Tannhaeuser’s Courtly Breeding,

BY

EUGENE OSWALD.

IN the German literature of the 13th century, Thomasin of Zerclaere, or, in the Italian form of his name, Tommasino di Circlaria, occupies a distinguished position. This position is due not only to the fact that his writing, addressed in purest German and in a loving spirit by an Italian poet to a German public, forms a refreshing link between two nations otherwise much and long divided (though this fact in itself is remarkable enough), but also for the intrinsic value of that one of his works which we still possess. This work, by the peculiar tone of his mind, introduces a striking element of variety into a rich but (without him and Walther von der Vogelweide) somewhat one-sided period of literature. He exercised by his own work and that of his successors, a healthy influence which, though not generally acknowledged, continued down towards the age of Reformation. Finally, his principal and well-preserved poem affords us a full revelation of an individuality clearly marked, thoroughly sound, wise, and enlightened, gentle in strength, whose words we can hardly read without loving him who uttered them.

Thomasin wrote two works, at least; for to the present writer there seem to be indications of his having written others beside the two which are mentioned by literary historians and critics.

The first of these was a Treatise on Courtesy. Unfortunately it is lost, but we have direct evidence of its production and contents by the mention the author makes of it in his larger work, in which he reproduces, in translation, one portion of his earlier writing, and summarizes others. We say in translation, for that lost work was not written in German. It is not so certain what the language was in which it was produced. The author himself says it was written

in *welhsche* (the modern German *wälsch*).¹ This exceedingly elastic word, for which we see no equivalent in English, and which designates equally people and things, of Romance speech or Celtic origin, from the mountains of the principality to the plains of the lower Danube, from the Ardennes to the Alps, and from the Pyrenees to the Apennines, may indeed be translated by *Italian*, and this, apparently, recommends itself by the fact of the author being introduced to us, by Mr Rossetti,² and others, as an Italian. Thus Professor Max Müller has also translated the name of Thomasin's greater work, *der welhsche Gast*, by '*the Italian Guest*,' a translation we do not wish to disturb.³ But on the other hand, the Editor of Thomasin, Heinrich Rückert, translates in this connection, the word *welhsche* without hesitation by North-French. Striking as this difference may appear at first sight, and Professor Rückert states no reasons for his rendering, there seems to us, on second consideration, good ground for it. For the *langue d'oïl* had towards the second half of the 12th century become a fashionable tongue, and by it had been chiefly promulgated those romances of King Arthur and the Round Table which then filled the imagination of the poets of Christendom, and with which Thomasin was well acquainted; King Richard Cœur de Lion was familiar with it and had perhaps written in it, as well as in the *langue d'oc*, and Thomasin, at one time, was at the court of Richard's cousin and companion in arms, Otto of Brunswick; moreover he tells us that he knew *welhsch*, which, if the word here meant Italian, was hardly necessary or likely to be mentioned, it being a matter of course (unless indeed he should have meant to imply, which seems to us possible, but not probable, that, beside his local dialect, he knew another and purer one: with respect to which supposition we must not forget that the Tuscan

¹ alsô ich hân hie vor geseit
an mîm buoch von der hüfscheit
daz ich welhschen hân gemacht.—V. 1173-75.

and :

er mac hoeren manie lêre
die ich wider die valscheit
in welhscher zunge hân geseit.—V. 1552-54.

² V. above, pt. 2, pp. 5, 30.

³ In the catalogue of the Vatican library, which for a long time possessed the best MS., the book was entered as *Hospes Italicus, seu Tractatus de Virtutibus et Vitiis*. *Adelung*, Nachrichten, p. 22.

dialect had not then arrived at that dignity and lustre which was afterwards conferred on it). Again, Thomasin himself in one instance at least, V. 94, uses the word *welhsche* with reference to North-French writings. Finally, if not the *langue d'oyl*, at any rate the *langue d'oc*¹ had been frequently employed by Italian writers; and it was only in Thomasin's days, and chiefly at the Court of Frederic II. at Naples, that the Italian tongue was employed for literary composition, mostly, we are told (for the present writer has no direct knowledge of this part of the question) in love-poetry imitating the manner of the Provençal troubadours,² and rarely in sacred poetry. If then Thomasin's lost work were written in Italian, it would be one of the earliest works in that language, and it is perhaps not probable that a subject like the one under consideration would be produced in first attempts to use the vernacular for literary purposes, whilst in the *langue d'oyl*, which already had a literature of comparatively long standing, such a work would easily fall in with the current of literary production. Thus the probability seems to us that the work was written not in Italian, but in the *langue d'oyl*.³

¹ We may just mention that *Eschenburg*, *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtung*, while rejecting Italian as the language meant by *welhsch*, inclines to the belief that the *langue d'oc* was meant. Yet he does so, not by eliminating the probabilities for the *langue d'oyl*, but by never entertaining or stating the possibility, or let us say by ignoring, for the moment, the existence of that language. More recent writers have not followed him.

V. 94 seems to us nearly conclusive in favour of the *langue d'oyl*, in this case, as against the *langue d'oc*. The author speaks there of adaptations, gladly received in Germany, of books taken from the *welhsche*: this seems plainly to refer to the imitations from Chrétien de Troyes, and other romantic poets. *Welisch* often stands where French is evidently meant. So Püterich, stanza 102.

Sam hat auch Lancilot von Säbenhoven
Aus Welisch Vlrich gedichtet.

² Comp. on the beginnings of an Italian literature, Ruth, *Geschichte der italienischen Poesie*. Leipzig, 1844; Th. i. p. 176—247. And Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap. ix. part ii. Yet the early date of Thomasin need not militate against his having written in Italian. Frederic II., his sons Enzo and Manfred, his chancellor Pier delle Vigne, wrote in the first third of the century. Ciullo of Alcamo, the oldest Sicilian singer, seems to have belonged to that time (before 1193; as he speaks of Saladin as living), Folcachiero, the oldest Florentine poet to have flourished about 1200, Mico di Siena a few years afterwards, Guido Guinizzelli of Bologna, about 1220. Still these writers belong to great centres very different from Friuli, and their productions seem very far from being on so large a plan as Thomasin's.

³ After writing this we applied to Professor Rückert at Breslau, the editor

The second work of Thomasin is the *wälsche Gast*, already mentioned. It is a long didactic poem, or at any rate a metrical performance of nearly fifteen thousand lines, quite finished by the author, which is note-worthy in a period abounding in unfinished productions, in works of vast plan, for which the authors had not breath enough ; it possesses a certain unity which equally distinguishes it from many of the productions of his contemporaries, who began somewhere, not knowing whither they were going, and rambled on till they came to an end, though not to a conclusion ; and it is in an almost complete state of preservation, having been handed down to us in many MSS., though edited for the first time but recently. It is a treatise, of a strongly exhortatory character, on the intellectual and moral life of man ; the physical part of his nature being neglected, which in a similar work in our days would have justly demanded a great space both as to the preservation and development of our faculties. Of this book it has become our task "to give an account, and to translate the courtesy part of it." But first as to the individuality of the author, of his life and character, for which, however, in the absence of any biography, we are almost reduced to the scanty hints the poem gives and to such combinations as they allow us.

Thomasin van Zerclaere¹ was born about the year 1185, in the Friuli. The place he himself gives us ;² the date we obtain in this manner. Speaking of that taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens which occasioned the third crusade, that of Richard Cœur de Lion, he says it is about thirty years since we lost it :

of Thomasin, in order to arrive, if possible, at more complete clearness on this point. His courteous answer, in letter d.d. Gnadenfrei, Silesia, Sept. 10, confirms his view, strengthening it chiefly by the consent of others, and by the then ordinary use of the word *walthisch*, which is to be taken as meaning simply one of Romance language, and is only specified, if necessary, by the addition of the particular home of the individual, viz. *walthisch* from Lombardy, &c. But this would not seem to prove that the '*welthisch*' could not have been used here to mean the then existing Italian ; Müller and Zarneke give one instance, at least, in their dictionary, where the word, without specializing additions, means plainly Italian, vol. iii. p. 467 ; and all things well considered, we prefer to leave the passage as it stands, inclined as we are to accept Professor Rückert's view, but expressing it in that more guarded manner which seems fitting where no direct and irrefragable evidence is forthcoming.

¹ Ich heiz Thomasin von Zerclaere, v. 75.

² Ich bin von Friûle geborn, v. 71.

ez sint wol zweir min drîzec¹ jâr dez wirs verlurn.²

that is, it is 30 years less $2 = 28$ years ; and in another passage he mentions that, at the time of writing his poem, he was about 30 years of age,³ and the whole poem was rapidly written, the first eight cantos in as many months. Thus, 1187 being known for the taking of Jerusalem, we obtain 1215 as the date of the poem, and reckoning back again, 1185 as the year of the author's birth.

As to the name, it seems to point to a family of noble birth, though not of very exalted standing. And here we get the only glimmer from outside the book itself. The author himself, though communicative enough, is silent on his family relations, and perhaps, it seems to us, not unintentionally. Who were his father and mother does not appear. But the family name has been found four times⁴ in documents, nearly contemporary with the poem, and a Bernardus de Circlaria, who appears as a witness to a contract, in the years 1186 and 1188, was perhaps the father, or an uncle, of our author. The nature of the documents⁵ seems to show that he, as well as the two other witnesses mentioned, owed feudal service to the Patriarch of Aquileja, and were perhaps his employés in the secular affairs of the see.⁶ But, scarcely have we had time to rejoice at so much, or even so little, tangible information, when we are met by the difficulty of explaining the family-name. "Of Zerclaere" is plainly a patronymic

¹ Duo de triginta.

² V. 11717-18; $30 - 2 = 28$.

³ Ich bin niht alt drîzec jâr, v. 2445.

In aht mânôden hân ich gar

dîu aht teil ûz gemachet, v. 12278-79.

⁴ By Karajan, J. de Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, vol. v. p. 241-42, referring to Joh. Franc Bernardi Mariae de Rubeis, Monumenta ecclesiæ Aquilensis. Argentinae (Venice) 170 et seq., s. 632 C., 633 C., 634 D. And again to Ughelli, Italia sacra, 5, 77.

The present Editor has not been able to verify these quotations, the particular work of Ughelli not being in the British Museum, whilst that of Rubeis, only a few and, to us, irrelevant chapters are accessible, contained in S. Chromati Script. Utini, 1816.

⁵ They are called de Glemona and Perchtenstein, and distinctly designated, Rubeis, s. 598 A., as employés of the Patriarch. The German name of the second gives some slight support to our theory, as showing the employment of Germans or men of German origin in these border-lands.

⁶ Whilst this passes through the press, we receive a genealogical statement concerning Bernard, the knight of Circlaria. He appears to have had two daughters only. MSS. Nicoletti. Vita del Patr. Aquil. Bertoldo. Vide note, page 89.

of local origin ; but there is no place called Circlaria to be found in that Friuli where Thomasin was born, and where Bernard lived.¹ The suggestion has been made,² and immediately rejected, to connect the name with Zirklach, a place in Carniola (Krain). Now we are inclined to take up again this supposition, and believe it to be pregnant with the explanation of much in the poem which requires explanation and has not received it. Our theory is that Circlaria or Zerclaere, which latter is Thomasin's version, the former that of the latinizing notary, is a corruption of the German Zirklach,³ and that the author, though born in Friuli, was descended, in the first or second degree, from a German family from Krain or Carniola, who had immigrated into the Friul.

He says indeed that he is a thorough Italian, or at least Welhisch,⁴ and apologizes for his shortcomings in German. But the former may be quite an ordinary and legitimate expression for one born of an Italian mother in Italy, though her husband were a German, or for the grandson of Italianized Germans ; and the shortcomings are indeed so small that the author's great familiarity and sympathy with German much more require an explanation than his rare insufficiencies, while his speech has at the same time not unfrequently a provincial character which points quite unmistakably to the Duchy of Austria and to Carinthia or Styria. Yet his knowledge evidently flows healthily and about equally from two sources—literary study and conversational opportunity. And the latter must have been more than that which frequency of talk with strangers or acquaintances affords : such intimate knowledge as his is not acquired unless the heart undertake a part of the teaching. At first we were inclined

¹ Thus the German writers, especially Karajan at Vienna ; the maps confirm them. But our Italian friends furnish us with the information, that in the 14th century, an estate called Cerclaria existed near Cividale.—'Prope Civitatem Austriæ erant bona in loco appellato Cerclaria, ut in documento anni 1335, 6 Nov., ut in actis Stephani Condelarii, notarii de Civitate.'

² Haupt, ut supra, p. 242.

³ The name appears in the MSS. in the following variations : Zerclaere,—Zerclar,—Zirklere,—Tirklere,—Tirkler Claer,—Verrere (Ferrara), the last of these in a quite recent copy, which was only made in the 18th century, and to which no authority attaches. Haupt, ut supra, p. 242.—To this add : Thomasin von Clär, in Püterich von Reicherzhausen, 15th century, quoted further on.

⁴ 69. Wan ich vil gar ein walich bin.

to suppose him to have been married to a German lady, and to have written this poem in the retirement of an early widowerhood.¹ To such a bereavement the gravity and mellowness of his thoughts and feelings may point, together with the fact that the retirement in which he wrote it² was not an habitual mood of life with him, that on its conclusion he reckoned upon returning to the gaieties of the world which he had formerly shared,³ that it occupied about a year,⁴ a period on which he strongly insists as the right period of mourning after the loss of husband or wife,⁵ and which he might well wish to fill up with this consoling and absorbing business of his ten lay-sermons, for so they may be called. Nor need this hypothesis be necessarily abandoned in favour of that of his distant German descent: the grandson of a German family, born in Italy, he may have returned to the home of his fathers, there to wed a German wife.

In all this inquiry it is right to bear in mind that we have not to do with countries far distant from each other, that Krain and Friuli are border-lands, where Italian, German, and Slaave elements are greatly mingled, partly in juxtaposition, and that part of Friuli only is Italian, while another part, still Austrian, has belonged to the Empire not only, but to Germany, from Otho I., at least, to the disruption of Germany by the war of 1866.

Those shortcomings in language just alluded to, and which in a general way he declares himself conscious of, are, we may say this in

¹ Leaving him, perhaps, with a son; v. 12660-63. But the passage is not conclusive.—That, at the time of writing the ‘Italian Guest,’ he was not married, is certain from v. 4097: “*ob ich ein wip haben solde.*”

² Dô du mit rîtern und mit vrouwen
Phlaege buhurt und tanz schouwen,
Dô was ich harte gern bî dir:
Wan dô, geloubestu ouch mîr,
Do du woldest ze hove sîn
Unter den liuten, dô was mîn
Geloube daz ich wære baz
Bî dir dan inder, wizze daz.—V. 12241-48.

³ Mich luste harte wol ze schouwen
Beidiu rîter unde vrouwen,
Doch dunket mich daz baz getân
Daz ich mich ir ein wîle ân.—V. 12319-22.

⁴ V. 12278-82.

⁵ V. 5605-26.

passing, to us moderns by no means considerable.¹ Many of them an unguided modern ear would not even detect. They are so inconsiderable, that one of the first modern writers who occupied himself with Thomasin inclined to the belief that the writer was purely a German who, for reasons of his own, assumed the characters of a foreigner, as a *nom de plume* may be assumed.² They consist, for the greater part, in deficiencies of ear as to rhyming, and in occasionally doubtful accents as to rhythm. Thomasin's contemporaries had arrived at a surprising, perhaps at a pedantic, exactness as to their rhymes, which is far from having descended to Schiller and Goethe, who can hardly lay claim to greater purity than Thomasin. Besides this, by us very pardonable, want of delicacy in hearing, a few instances occur where our author uses a word drawn from the Italian, which, however, may very well have already belonged to that South-German dialect that surrounded him, and need not have been introduced by him, who starts with the intention not to "streak with foreign words his German speech,"³ an intention he very laudably carries out, and wherein the immense majority of later German writers have not followed him.

In one or two instances a technical or political term occurs to him more readily in Italian than in German;⁴ and in one instance he naïvely confesses that he does not know the German for a shrub of which he has got something to say.⁵

These two latter details seem to us to support the theory that his education and early impressions belong to Italy, and that when he wrote his great work, he was in Germany—a fact otherwise patent, and far from those who might have furnished him with the necessary translation.

He evidently had the best education which his age could afford. He was not an ecclesiastic when he wrote the Italian Guest, though,

¹ V. 55-70. Wise people, he thinks, will not mind them; and again: v. 1684-86.

² Eschenburg, Denkmäler, p. 114-44.

³ V. 35-42.

⁴ V. 845.—*Potestât* = mayoralty = podestaria. Vide also *tempern*, for *to cut*, as applied to the penknife, the Italian *temperino*; v. 12232.

⁵ Ez ist ein krût des enkan ich niht genennen tiusche, v. 14086, *et seq.* He means the Oleander (*Nerium Oleander*, L.).

from what we know of his reading, it is not impossible that he entered on the career of one, and, for reasons unknown to us, left it. Ecclesiastical influences had surrounded him at some time in his life, as was natural enough if that Bernardus de Circlaria whom we have mentioned as connected with the Patriarch of Aquileja, was really his father or uncle. His later education may have lain more in the direction of the Law Schools.¹ He had for his time a respectable knowledge of physics and astronomy. Whether his university was Bologna or Padua will remain undecided, but it was probably one of the two.² In riper years he was conscious, as many an other man³ has been since, that he might have worked harder when at college. But his reading was extensive and varied. The philosophers Seneca and Boethius are the ancient authors who have left the strongest traces on his mind. With Horace, too, he was familiar, but to him Thomasin's graver mind reverts less frequently. Among the fathers, Tertullian and St Augustine were read by him; among the Latin authors of the Middle Ages, Gregory the Great—the only one whom he cites directly,—John of Salisbury, Petrus Alphonsus,⁴ Isidor of Sevilla,⁵ and especially Hildebert of Tours (1057—1134) made the greatest impression on him. His reading was not empty book-learning, it entered the flesh and blood of his mind, and when he quotes, it is not by taking a volume from the shelf of a library, as we must, but from the stores of his memory, which served him as a commonplace book,—a memory which must have been excellent, and played him no evil trick, though his quotations are not textual. It is worth while to say that they have been verified, with very great pains, by his German editor, H. Rückert.

With the romantic literature of his time he was well acquainted, and in a passage, hereafter to be referred to again, he seems to allude to the titles of several romances which to us are lost. He not un-

¹ V. 2285-420.

² Rückert, Vorwort, p. xi.

³ Says the pen to the author :

Dô du dâ ze schuole wære

Dô muotestu mich niht sô hart. v. 12256-57.

⁴ Petrus Alphonsus, a Jew, baptized in 1106, 44 years of age, wrote Dialogi XII. contra Judæos, Disciplina clericorum.

⁵ Isidor of Sevilla (*Sententiarum libri tres*), p. 636.

frequently uses the names of the chief characters of them in illustrations; he would be certain in this to tread on ground familiar to his readers—for such he expects to find, not hearers only, like some of his contemporaries who looked to the recital or singing of their pieces rather than to their being companions of solitude. But while in his youth, when he wrote the *Courtesy* book to please a lady,¹ he probably enjoyed those adventurous tales with a naïve pleasure; at the time when his graver mind produced the *Italian Guest*, they appeared to him insufficient and somewhat empty, plays of the fancy chiefly, not always without a deeper hidden meaning, yet on the whole like in a book the pictures which might amuse the younger or more untutored mind, while the reading of the text was reserved for the riper and chastened intellect. And thus he finds himself in opposition, nowhere sharply expressed, yet not the less decided, to those knightly romances; and though the form of his book be in no way similar to *Don Quixote*, yet its tendency and its action on contemporary literature is somewhat like that of Cervantes. True, the production of poems of knightly adventure went on, and several of the principal of those books, proceeding from and destined for a limited circle in the nation, were written after Thomasin uttered his appeal from Romance to Real life, from the Ideal of a Class to the Ideal of Man; but still he is at the head of that movement of reaction in which he was immediately followed by the author of *Fridanc*,² and which finally overcame the knightly romance, and continued till towards the Reformation the way for which it distantly prepared. And thus, whatever may justly be urged against directly didactic poetry, the value of Thomasin's services in the cause of a clearer perception of Human Life must be estimated very highly.

As to the lyrical poets of the age, he is once polemical against Walther von der Vogelweide, who, though favourable to a new crusade, objected to the collections for the papal treasury made on that occasion, whilst Thomasin admitted of no critical restrictions in his zeal for the struggle to regain the Holy Land,—a struggle which, to

¹ Ich tet ez einer vrouwen ze êre,
Diu bat mich der selben lère.—V. 1555-56.

² Vide Max Müller, *German Classics*, p. xvii. and 119-24.

his mind, presented itself as indissolubly connected with the papal authority, and with respect to which a mere maker of love-songs was at least to be suspected of lukewarmness, and of being little qualified to give counsel. "For the poet," he says,—

"For the poet again it is not seemly	11212
To be a liar,	
Since both he and the preacher	
Are to support Truth.	11215
A certain man might (now)	
With one word do more good to Christendom	
Than he can do it ever after.	
Methinks that all his singing	
Both in short measure and in long,	11220
Cannot have pleased God so much	
As that one thing must displease him,	
Since he hath befooled thousands	
So that they have paid no heed	
To God's and the Pope's command."	11225

Walther is not mentioned; but the passage evidently relates to him whose partial opposition might easily lead men further away than he intended from the undertaking which he himself seems to have had at heart perhaps as much as Thomasin. Somewhat later he even set out personally on a Crusade, though he did not reach the Holy Land. But he clung to the Imperial authority as opposed to the Papal. And Thomasin was a Guelph. The two poets probably met personally, when Walther visited the court of the Patriarch of Aquileja.¹ But then, as now, it was difficult for men of opposite camps, especially if difference of temper and tastes were added, to understand each other, and find out what common ground might be possessed by both.

This, however, is the only passage in which some bitterness mixes

¹ "Nel secolo stesso (XIII) frequentò la corte del Patriarca d'Aquileja Volftero di Leubrechtkirchen (1204-1218) il minnesinger tedesco Walter von der Vogelweide." From notes, the result of researches, made by Doctor Vincenzo Joppi and Signor Antonio Joppi, in the archives of Udine, Vicenza, Aquileja, and Venice, for the special purpose of this essay, and communicated to the present writer by the courtesy of Professor Quinto Maddalozzo at Vicenza, with whom he was brought in connection by his kind friend Dr Francesco Genala at Soresina. To all these gentlemen best thanks are due, and tendered.

in Thomasin's criticisms ; and it resulted from his idea of the high office belonging to the Poet, an office which he, however, devoted to Mother Church, was not willing to rank beneath that of the Preacher. Indeed this one idea pervades his book: Mind is King. Frequent are his utterances in this sense. Thus he says that Solomon is known to us more by his writings than by his having been a great ruler.¹ And he complains that learning in his days was not more general, and that, when found, it was not more honoured.

LEARNING AND WISDOM NO LONGER HONOURED.

Wâ ist nu Aristôteles,
Zênô und Parmenides,
Platô und Pytâgoras ?
wâ ist ouch Anaxâgoras ?
nu wizzet daz mich dunket des,
und lebt hiut Aristôteles,
im entæt dehein ander
künic daz im Alexander
ze êren tet di wil er lebt.

Where are now Aristotle,
Zeno and Parmenides,
Plato and Pythagoras ?
Again where is Anaxagoras ?
Now know ye that it seems to me
That if Aristotle lived now-a-days
No other
King would do by him what Alexander
Did in his honour while he lived.²

Yet, with all his respect for learning, it is not the mere accumulation of facts, the diffusion of useful knowledge which he aims at ; and the real wisdom of life stands in his eyes higher than erudition :

WISDOM PREFERABLE TO LEARNING.

Der kan Grammaticâ wol
der rehte lebet als er sol.
ob er niht rehte sprechen kan,
so ist er doch ein wise man.

He knows grammar well
Who lives justly, as he ought.
Though he cannot speak correctly
Yet he is a wise man.³

With respect to that said accumulation of knowledge, he gives a rule of study, and utters a warning which has its value even in these days of competitive and other examinations when some one has said as a thing to be rejoiced at, and many have repeated it, "He who runs may read :"

¹ Salomôn der ist mêre, v. 9217.
Erkant der werlde durch sîn lêre
Danne durch sîn künieriche,
Daz geloubet sicherliche.

² V. 5085-93.

³ V. 8999-9002.

READ NOT HASTILY NOR TOO MUCH.

Der pfaffe der vil buoche hât
sî stæte an eim von mînem rât,
wan wil ers eins tags übersehen
gar, so mac daz niht geschehen
daz er vernem ir aller sin.

man siht niht wol durch eine tür,
ob man ze snell wil loufen vür.

And again :

Ein buoch sol lange wern.

The priest who has many books
Let him be steady at one, by my advice,
If he will survey them all in a day
It is impossible
For him to understand their meaning.

One cannot well see through a door,
If one wishes to run on too quickly.¹

A book shall last a long time.²

Thomasin's knowledge of contemporary history is very great, and he seems to have watched carefully the political transactions of his time ; witness his allusions to the history of King John of England,³ to the revolutions of the Greek empire,⁴ and so on.

No Italian patriotism is to be found in Thomasin. The time for such national and oppositional feeling had not yet come. When he speaks of Unity,⁵ in connection with Rome, it seems to us that his meaning must be twisted to be made to refer to the modern idea of Italian unity which had not then dawned : it is rather the Unity of Christendom which occupied him ; and in bewailing its divisions, it is natural for him to regret the loss of the great power of ancient Rome, the capital of the old Empire, and, to him, in uninterrupted line, of the Christian world. Rome once commanded the universe, he says ; now her voice is mocked even at Viterbo.⁶ The name of Italy does not occur. With Italian affairs, especially those of Lombardy and Tuscany, he shows himself especially acquainted, and in his survey of

¹ V. 1905-9.

² V. 14626. Eschenburg ; '*Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst*' reads this line : 'MEIN buoch sol lange wern,' which would recall Horace's '*Exegi monumentum ære perennius*,' and is not incompatible with the considerable consciousness of his own value which Thomasin elsewhere shows.

³ V. 3423-26.

⁴ V. 10607 et seq. ; and again, v. 11003-22. Vide also his Survey of Europe, v. 2421-96.

⁵ V. 2423-26.

⁶ Man vürht si ze Biterbe niht, v. 2438. Of a period but slightly anterior, that of Thomas à Beckett, Machiavelli says : *mentre che il Papa aveva tanta autorità nei principi longinqui, non poteva farsi ubbidire dai Romani ; dai quali non potette impetrare di potere stare in Roma, ancorachè promettesse d'altro che dell'ecclesiastico non si travagliare ; tanto le cose che paiono sono più discosto che d'appresso temute.* *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. i.

the state of the Christian world¹ the different parts of Italy occupy more space than, geographically, would be their due. Yet, the names of Italian cities are Germanized,² and in complaining of the real or apparent decay of the Lombard towns, which he witnessed as a recent event and ascribed to their own faults,³ he nowhere thinks of recommending, as a remedy, what would now be called a national policy, and what must have appeared to him as a revolt against the universality of the Christian empire, as represented by Pope and Cæsar.

In his twenty-third year we find our author at the court of the Emperor Otho IV., that is, among the Guelphs. We obtain his age at that period by comparing our former calculation with the ascertained date of Otho's presence in Lombardy, 1209, and his subsequent coronation in Rome, Sept. 27. Perhaps business connected with the see of Aquileja may have led Thomasin to go to court, but his sympathies were then with the Emperor's cause, which, for the moment, was the Pope's. Not without misgiving he saw the overconfidence of that ruler, whose decline though not his death he was to witness before the *welthische Gast* was finished. But whilst he felt compelled to pass over to the other side, he is far from insulting his ancient chief.

Previous to giving a passage very characteristic both of our author's heart and of his way of rising, in the expounding of matters of courtesy, to considerations of weightier import, it may not be unwelcome to briefly summarize the principal events of that period as far as Italy and Germany, Pope and Emperor, are concerned.

Henry VI.—the VI. as king of Germany, though the V. only as Emperor, the first German Henry, Otho I.'s father, never having borne the Imperial Crown⁴—had died after having united the two Sicilies to the other possessions of the Hohenstaufen family, leaving an only son, Frederic II., in tender years (1197). This grand-child of Frederic Barbarossa was under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. His mother, Constantia, by sacrificing to the Pope important rights of the

¹ V. 2421-96.

² Biterbe, Berne, Presse = Viterbo, Verona, Brescia.

³ V. 2439-54.

⁴ German writers are apt to confound the two dignities: Machiavelli's (who is more exact) Henry I. is their Henry II., and so on.

crown, had procured his coronation as king of the Sicilies. But no similar influence could restrain the princes of Germany from falling away from their promised allegiance to a child three years of age. His uncle, duke Philip of Suabia, seized upon the crown on one hand, whilst the Guelph party elected an anti-king in Otho of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, and of Mathilda, Henry II.'s of England daughter. Otho had distinguished himself among the fighting men of his uncle Richard Cœur de Lion, and now waged, with changing fortunes, a ten years' war of North against South, of Guelph against Ghibellin. After Philip of Suabia had been murdered, a victim to the private revenge of Otho of Wittelsbach, the ancestor of the Bavarian kings, the kingly and imperial dignities accrued for a space of four years (1208—1212) wholly to Otho of Brunswick. He was crowned by Pope Innocent in 1209, who, however, in the midst of Otho's victorious march through Italy, pronounced excommunication against him for having resumed the sovereignty of Ancona and Spoleto, and thus curtailed the papal states, and opposed to him his apparently half-forgotten ward, Frederic II., "our child" as Thomasin affectionately calls him.¹ Abandoned by many of his friends, surrounded by enemies, and in luckless alliance with King John Lackland, he was beaten at Bouvines in 1214 by Philip Augustus of France, but continued fighting for his position, and died in 1218. At the date of our poem he was evidently hard beset. It is of this man our author speaks with reference to Moderation in Blazonry.

When Sir Otho was in Lombardy,
 With whom things have now gone hard,
 And had also come to Rome,
 As you probably have heard,
 I came there at that time,
 And was in his court, that is true,

10475

¹ Nu nemet ouch bilde dâ bî,
 wie unser kint gestigen sî.
 dô man gewis sîn wolde
 daz er Püllen vliessen solde,
 dô gab im got tiuschiu lant, &c.

10569

. . . diventò Ottone nemico del Pontifice, occupò la Romagna, e ordinava di assalire il regno; per la qual cosa il Papa lo scomunicò, in modo ch'è fu de ciascheduno abbandonato, e gli Elettori elessero per imperadore Federigo re di Napoli.—*Machiavelli*, Istorie Fiorentine, lib. i.

About eight weeks and more :
 Then this displeased me exceedingly
 That there appeared in his shield
 No less than three lions and half an eagle. 10480
 That was doing it immoderately
 In two directions, surely.
 Three lions were too much.
 He who wishes to bear (in his shield) one lion,
 If he can direct his course of action by such a model, 10485
 Him I think an upright man.
 Likewise you shall know
 That half an Eagle is not sound :
 I will in this to you not lie :
 Half an Eagle cannot fly. 10490
 That was in Little and in Much
 Immoderation, if you will understand it.
 I have an inkling that it was to signify
 What was to come afterwards.
 One lion shows highmindedness,
 Three lions shows arrogance. 10496
 He who has the heart of three lions,
 Follows the counsel of arrogance ;
 If one has the spirit of one lion
 Methinks that he does enough. 10500
 The eagle flies very high,
 His high flight betokens honour,
 And so truly betokens
 Half an eagle the parting of honour.
 Now every one will see 10505
 That Sir Otho has
 Parted with the Empire by arrogance.
 He who wishes to ascend
 With the hearts of three lions beyond the spirit of man,
 He must shortly descend in the course of victory : 10510
 However high half an eagle might be,
 He could not but fall, that is true.
 I do not say this in order
 To reproach him in any way
 With being arrogant. 10515
 Were I to do so, it would not seem to me good.
 For however he has fared
 I will yet guard myself
 Not to speak evil of him,
 Since I should weaken myself 10520
 By doing so ; it shall not happen
 If I can help it.
 But what I have said,

I have said,
 That people may get sense, 10525
 Otherwise I should not have said it,
 Yet I may well say it
 That every one may mark it,
 And take an example thereby
 That things have happened thus with him. 10530

Innocent III. had died in 1216, two years before the luckless Emperor. His death is not mentioned by Thomasin, and had it occurred at the time of the writing of *der wellische Gast*, it would in all probability not have been passed over by the poet, who is sufficiently in the habit of moralizing on contemporary events, and who moreover was evidently a strong adherent of Innocent, and much under the influence of that pope, Thomasin's fervent exhortation to a new Crusade being, as H. Rückert has well shown, chiefly a paraphrase of the Bull of Innocent. This observation, if we desire further confirmation of the date we have assigned to the poem, singularly narrows the calculation. The poem cannot have been written before 1215, and not after 1216, and we know that the first eight cantos were written in as many months.

Whether when Frederic II. in his time came into collision with the Pope, Thomasin was capable of retaining his affectionate allegiance for "our child," may fairly be doubted. His old Guelph reminiscences, his unfaltering adherence to the spiritual power and to orthodoxy, his very veneration for mind as distinguished from outward authority, his associations with clerical learning, the small store he set on princes and the nobility, unless they were officering to the welfare of the community of their fellow-men; all this must have drawn him towards, if not into, the ranks of those who hunted to death that brilliant ruler. But we are allowed, from Thomasin's bearing towards the falling Otho, to conclude that if his allegiance would be withdrawn from Frederic, somewhat of his affection would remain, and his withdrawal would be marked, not by the fiery spirit of the zealous renegade, but by the sad thoughts of one who in grievous disappointment cuts himself off from old ties, respecting the fallen because he respects himself, of whom the lost one was a part. But this is speculation: with the death of Innocent, the image of Thomasin, while yet a young man,

recedes from our view. Whatever fights he fought, whatever books he wrote, have vanished into the gray abyss. Whatever his contemporaries may have learnt from him, whether or not they felt the debt which the world owes, for the example he sets, to a man of great mind and stout heart, they do not speak of him. One single exception to this exists: his death is mentioned, again, in the shadowy manner which surrounds him, and which we have tried somewhat to clear up: no date is affixed, in the registers of the cathedral of Aquileja, to the bare record of his demise. Yet we learn by it that he did enter, or re-enter, the priesthood, and attained the dignity of a Canon.¹ We have the 'Italian Guest;' the rest is silence. And it remains to us but very briefly to sum up the man's character, and that of his book.

A man who has seen life and tasted its sweets, who has acquired the best knowledge his time could give him, and has found something higher; thinking knowledge of small account when not improving wisdom; going in all things to the root of the matter; sufficiently penetrated with the then current modes of viewing human life to enable him to understand his time, yet himself penetrating through the elegant skins and savoury flesh of the fruit to the very kernel; ascending from courtesy to goodness, from nobility of rank to nobleness of heart; seeing in all station and dignity but an office and an obligation, exchanging for a real respect for women, as one half of God's creation of noble human beings, that unhealthy tone of gallantry² which his age had carried to its utmost excess, and which has so constantly become the flimsy cover of real wrong; loudly proclaiming, in accents that remind us of Robert Burns, and of Schiller, the indestructible privileges of man in even the humblest condition; modest, yet self-conscious; convinced that he has to say things worth hearing, yet unwilling to speak to the utterly corrupt, while indefatigable in

¹ (Sine anno) . . . Obitus Tomasini de Cerclara Canonici Aquilejensis. Ex necrologio ecclesiæ Aquilejensis. Found by Signori Joppi, and communicated by Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza to the present writer, who is happy to call to this newly-discovered fact the attention of the German historians of literature.

² "Lyrical poetry . . . degenerated into an unworthy idolatry of ladies." *Max Müller*. *The German Classics*, xvii.

drawing forth the germs of good in those who are fit and inclined to hear his teaching; wholly indifferent to the mockeries of the mob, though ready to value the good opinion of the honourable and the distinguished; ¹ most delicate in his appreciation of things and persons, drawing a teaching from apparently empty forms, finding "sermons in stones and good in everything;" always firm of purpose, surprising us sometimes by the refinement of feeling which accompanies the justness of his thought; almost always grave, rarely stern, grave with the gravity of one mellowed by misfortune and meditation, full of sympathy in contact, of illustration in speech; incessantly warring, above all, against all unsteadiness and all frivolity, sometimes with a touch of fun and real humour; ever generous to the fallen; gentle and mild to all men, barring heretics—thus appears to us Thomasin, as unconsciously painted by himself.

A few extracts will justify the apparent extravagance of our praise, the reader being pleased to remember what was that age of almost universal oppression—so, at least, it appears to us—wherein our author wrote.

And first as to heretics. Their existence in Lombardy and elsewhere² having been observed by him, and treated as an unmitigated evil, seeing that, in his eyes, the heretic is a man

To whom anything seems good 11269
That he happens to like doing,

he is betrayed into this grim joke:

ON HERETICS.

Lombardy would be exceedingly well off
Had she . . . the Lord of Austria 12686

¹ Böser liute spot ist mir unmære,
Hân ich Gâweins hulde wol,
Von reht mîn Key spotten sol. v. 76-78.

Most of our readers are familiar with the personages of the King Arthur cycle of legends. To others, we could perhaps not bring home in a more compendious form the force of the allusions to Gâwein (= Owain) and Key (= Kai) than by this passage from the *Lady of the Fountain*: "In very truth, said Gwenhyvar, it were better thou wert hanged, Kai, than to use such uncourteous speech towards a man like Owain." *Lady Guest's Mabinogian, Lady of the Fountain, Welsh text, vol. i. p. 1—38, Engl. transl. 39—84.*

² In Provence, where they have expelled Steadiness, v. 2471-72; in Milan, v. 2489.

Who knows how to seethe the heretics
 He would find there a fine opportunity for doing justice ;
 He does not wish the devil
 Should break his teeth at once
 When he eats them, therefore he has them
 Well boiled and roasted.

12692

This Lord of Austria, let it be said in passing, is Leopold VI.¹ (1198—1230), surnamed *pater clericorum*, the successor of that Leopold with whom Richard Cœur de Lion had a mutually unpleasant acquaintance, and otherwise, it appears, a man not without good parts ; at any rate, a patron of the arts. Other testimony, contemporary and later, may be adduced, that the heretic-hunt did not do all the good that was expected. The almost complete eradication of Protestantism from Austria was reserved for later princes and another dynasty.

Whilst, however, inclined to excuse, to a great extent, by the prevalent views of the age, the savageness of feeling expressed by a man otherwise so gentle, we must yet observe that outside the ranks of the heretics themselves, there must then have been some people pleading, in the spirit of our own age, for that toleration which most of the heretics themselves, if we are to judge them by their mental descendant, Calvin, would be so little inclined to give. For Thomasin himself introduces such a one in conversation, in order to conquer what would appear to him but specious arguments. After having expatiated on the insufficiency of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and claimed the arm of the secular power, he continues :

Here says perhaps a man,	12653
Who cannot rightly understand the matter :	
One ought not to force any one	12655
Into right and sound belief.	
" We even leave the Jews unhurt,	
Though they do not wish to be Christians."	
I will give him answer :	
If my child would not live	12660
According to my wish, as his duty is to do,	
I should beat him and censure him well.	
But if your child would not live	
Accordingly, and as by rights he ought,	

¹ Not Leopold VII., as Rückert has it in his notes, p. 603, by a misprint probably.

I should not trouble myself	12665
About beating him ; you had better do that.	
Thus shall act the Church ;	
She shall well coerce her own children	
And shall leave strange children	
Subject to their own fathers.	12670
Why should she coerce the Jews	
In any way ? They do not belong to her.	
As to heretics, it is her part to coerce them,	
Since they truly were her children.	
If a man is baptized,	12675
He is her child from that time ;	
If he afterwards wishes	
To depart from her, oh, believe me,	
One ought to coerce him	
Into acting rightly and well.	12680
And let there be secular judgment	
If the ecclesiastical will not avail.	

Poor as this reasoning may appear to us, there is perhaps cause for congratulation in it : if generally accepted, it protected at least one class of human beings—for we can hardly say of the community—against bigotry, and may have paved the way, by the mere fact of some unbelievers remaining unpersecuted, to broader views. Things might have been worse. Thomasin helped to prepare the fifth Crusade ; not only the first, but also the third, only a quarter of a century before he wrote, were almost, as a matter of course, ushered in by a grand massacre of Jews.¹

Yet one very important observation must be made in excuse of Thomasin and his contemporaries : to us, at least to many, let us hope to most of us, heresy is a matter of dogma, and we are capable of distinguishing between the holding of theological opinions and the

¹ *Michaud, Croisades, Livre ii.—Richard of Devizes, Lest. 3.*— : About that solemn hour, in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in the city of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery, that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion dispatched their blood-suckers with blood to hell. In this commotion there was prepared, although unequally, some evil against the wicked, everywhere throughout the realm, only Winchester alone, the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city always acting mildly, spared its vermin.—*Bohn's Edition.*—Similar testimony abounds.

doing of moral acts. Not so with Thomasin ; the heretic is so, in his eyes, because he is a bad and immoral man. He is a being

To whom anything seems good 11269
That he happens to like doing,

and this he thinks he can safely assert from having known a thousand of them (v. 11300). And therefore it is useless to argue with heretics : they are without doctrine and without sense (v. 11303).¹ And Thomasin, while wishing to encourage, enlighten, and strengthen those whose dispositions are on the whole good, yet thinks it useless to occupy himself with those who are already thoroughly bad. Thus, in his Introduction, he wishes his book to fall into the hands of no *unsteady* man, and towards the conclusion of his book, he is very emphatic on this point. Addressing his work, as he sends it out into the world, he says :

Now be exhorted, Italian Guest,
When you have hold of a noble branch, 14710
Let not yourself be drawn from it
By a bad thorn. Though
One may say to the wolf
The Lord's prayer all day long,
He yet will never speak anything 14715
Like a lamb. Thus it happens
With the bad man, whatever one say to him,
It goes, as far as truth is concerned,
In by the one ear and out by the other.
How could there be any lasting impression 14720
Where a person does not think over (what has been said) ?
Know ye that a worthless person
Does not like to force his thoughts
Away from frivolous things to good.
Know ye that one cannot fill 14725
A sack with holes in it.

Therefore, my book, shalt thou remain
With him who is willing to write you
Into his heart and spirit.

¹ Thus, even half a century later, Saint Louis, fiercer than Thomasin, advises his court : " So I say to you, said the King, that no one, if he is not a very learned clerk, ought to dispute with them ; but a layman when he hears the Christian law gainsaid, should not defend it except with the sword, which he should drive into the gainsayer's body as far as he can make it go." *Joinville*, ed. Michel et Didot. 1858.—*Bohn's* ed. p. 362. (Chronicles of the Crusades.)

And again :

No man shall shew to his lady-love, 14667
 Either through carelessness, or through lovingness,
 Nor to his lord, nor to his lady,
 Nor to his friend,
 This my speech,
 Unless virtue appear in them.

It may be difficult for Thomasin to conciliate with his orthodox Christianity, this repelling of those who are not already virtuous; but perhaps he only exaggerates the truth, that no fruit can be expected where there is no germ, a truth which in the following form recommends itself to, and will be approved by, educators :

To him who is virtuous or becoming so 14631
 To him I give in friendship
 My book, that with it
 He may steer his beautiful manners.¹
 Let him also with good action 14635
 Improve what he has
 Read in my book ;
 Let him be exhorted thereto.
 But he who has no good breeding and does not know how to
 act handsomely²
 Let him have nothing to do with it. 14640
 No teaching has power
 To make him virtuous
 In whom virtue is not inherent.
 You may strike the water all day long
 And yet it will not give fire,³ 14645
 Since to have fire is not in its nature.
 However cold a stone be
 Yet with cunning one wins
 Fire out of it, since that is in it.
 If there be sense in a man 14650
 However slow he may be to good works
 Yet one may with teaching bring him
 To virtue and piety.
 Know ye this as a truth ;
 Tinder brings out the fire well, 14655

¹ We have intentionally preferred this literal translation to one which, though more elegant, would wash out the original colouring of the thought.

² Swer nien hât zuht und *schoene site*. The translator has tried to come as nearly as seemed possible to him, to a convenient word expressing somewhat the καλοκάγαθία of the ancients. "Handsome is that handsome does."

³ Strike the water—the old way, which some of our generation still recollect, of striking sparks with a steel out of flint, and catch them up with tinder.

Yet no one must suppose
That it could make the fire.
Thus teaching rouses into waking
The sense, and yet cannot make it.

The following extracts hardly require comment.

OVER-ARDENT LOVE.

Swer einem wîb ze holt ist,
dem ist wê zaller vrist.
swenners niht gesehen mac,
sô tobet er naht unde tac.
hey waz er gedenkend ist
unnützer dinge zaller vrist !
und sêhe man waz er tuot
mit gedanke in sinem muot,
er müeste sich sîn schamen sêre.

If one is overfond of a woman,
His heart aches at all times.
When he may not see her,
He rages night and day.
Hey, what useless things
He is thinking of always !
And were one to see what he does
With his thoughts in his mind
He would have justly to be ashamed
of himself.¹

LOVE.

Ein ieglichr hât wol die sinne
daz er weiz, möht man koufen minne,
daz diu minn wær eigen gar :
sus ist diu minne vrî, deist wâr.
swer wænet koufen minn umb guot,

der erkennet weder minn noch muot,
wan bêdiu muot und minne
suln uns bejagen unser sinne
und unser zuht niht unser guot.

Everyone may have the sense
To know that if one could buy Love,
Love were a slave :
Now love is freeborn, that is true.
He who fancies he can buy love for
riches
He knows not the nature either of
Love or of the Soul :
Since both the Soul and Love
Ought to conquer our senses
And our manners, not our goods.²

NO MAN WHOLLY A SLAVE.

Ein man ist niht eigen gar,
daz sol man wizzen wol vûr wâr.
swer sîn wænt, hât niht vernomen
daz daz beste teil ist ûz genomen :
wan die sêle und den gedanc
nie dehein man bedwanc.

A man is not wholly another's,
That shall you truly know.
He who fancies so, has not learnt
That the best part (of man) is excepted :
Since the Soul and the Thoughts
No man ever forced.³

IT IS BETTER TO SUFFER OPPRESSION THAN TO INFLICT IT.

Ob dich dîn herre schendet sêre,

daz ist dir niht sô grôz unêre
sô, daz du zaller vrist
mit dem dinge unniûezec bist
daz du dir einn vrîen man

wil machen undertân,
alsô er ein vihe wære :
swerz tuot, der ist got unniære.

If thy lord should dishonourably
oppress thee,
That is not as great dishonour to thee,
As that thou at all times
Art busy about the thing
That thou shouldst wish to make a
freeman
Subject to thee,
As if he were a beast :
He who does that, is displeasing to God.⁴

¹ V. 4125-33.

³ V. 7875-80.

² V. 1243-51. Vide also p. 122.

⁴ V. 7857-64.

RECOGNIZE MAN'S NATURE IN A SERVANT.

Jâ sol man sînen eigenkneht
lâzen leben nâch mannes reht.

man sol an im got êrn,
man sol von im des dienstes gern,
daz man an die menscheit

gedenke, diu hôhe ist beleit.
wil du vertreten mit dem vuoz
den der lîht hôher sitzen muoz
denne du in unsers herren rîche,
daz enstêt niht rîterlîche.

Nay, as to your own servant
One shall let him live according to
Man's Rights.

One shall in him honour God,
One shall of him ask service
In such a manner as to be mindful of
humanity.

The
Wilt thou trample underfoot
Him who perchance may sit higher
Than thou in the kingdom of our Lord?
That is ill-befitting a knight.¹

TRUE NOBILITY, AND NOBLESSE OBLIGE.

Nobility also may 3855

Make us dream. If a man
Is nobler (by birth) than another
And thinks himself always of more account
He deceives himself in that :

No one is noble but the man 3860

Who has set his heart and mind
Towards that which is really good.

If a man be well-born
And have lost the nobility of his disposition,
I may truly tell you 3865

He quite shames his birth :

If a man be well-born
His birth demands at all times
That he act well and justly.²

If he do not control himself thus to act, 3870
Then his vice is all the greater :

His birth diminishes his honour.
If ye have understood me well, 3915

You know that it is a mistake to think
That he is courtly (gentle, hüfsch) at all times,
Who is noble in the world :

For as I have said even before this,
To do well, that is Courtliness. 3920

If one has a courteous disposition,
He does justly whatever he does.
He who acts well at all times,

¹ V. 7865-74.

² Ainsi plus votre rang vous élève en ce monde,
Plus il faut que chez vous le vrai mérite abonde ;
C'est lui seul qu'on estime, et vous devez savoir
Combien sur les humains l'exemple a de pouvoir.

Frédéric de Prusse à son frère.

Know ye that he is noble :
 Again, know ye that they are noble 3925
 Who are wholly the children of God.

Yet Thomasin is hardly a democrat, certainly not a revolutionist ; see his book iii. sect. vi. Each one is to keep his place, and it is foolish for a peasant to want to be a lord. As to the latter :

The people are to be as dear to him 3092
 As his own life is to him.

So that we arrive very nearly at the axiom : everything for the people, nothing through the people. Yet even thus to sum up, with the formula of enlightened despotism, his political views—the democratic tendency of which seems to us to have been exaggerated by Gervinus—would appear to be a mistake : formulas for constitutional government, whatever be their value to us, were very far from Thomasin's mind. He was not a constitution-monger. He accepted the state of the world as he found it, and instead of devising new machinery for guiding it, he rather sought to penetrate with a living spirit of justice and kindness the forms existing. Mr Mathew Arnold ought to rejoice in his acquaintance. Modern French socialists would be shocked by his incapacity for recognizing an equality where none exists ; he by no means overlooks the difference between the courtly knight or learned clerk and the boorish peasant ; when he wants to point out a particularly mean way of conduct, he is very apt to say that such a one acts like a tradesman, and he is, above all, a gentleman writing for gentlemen, no doubt with the view of making them conceive that word in its highest sense. His views on the position and duties of gentlemen seem to us greatly to coincide with that fine chapter in Pascal where the author forcibly shows to the young nobleman the unrealities and the unjustifiableness of his position unless filled for the public good.¹

Leaving politics alone, we may show our author's refinement and justness of feeling in some passages on Presents and Liberality.

Presents, he says, may be given out of wealth unjustly acquired, or with a view to a future advantage, or again from luxuriousness

¹ *Pensées*, art. xii. *Sur les conditions des Grands*.

(14125-50), but the giver cannot lay claim to liberality or gentleness :

Him who wishes to give to me anything in such a manner,	
I will never thank much ;	
For, truly, his present	
Has been made to Luxuriousness.	
I like the upright gentle man,	14155
But She through whom he has done it,	
Let her thank him if she like :	
I will never thank him much.	
But him who gives through gentleness	
Him I shall thank away.	14160

And again :

Let every one see	
That his present be appropriate.	
One must always see	
Who is the man to whom one gives,	
That one may give at all times	14165
According as the man is.	
Yea, one ought to give to a rich man	
Rare things, surely,	
And to a poor one at all times	
That which is good and useful to him.	14170
He who will not make a distinction in people,	
Makes his presents in an indiscreet manner.	
Where there is no discretion,	
There is never any gentleness.	
For such un-virtue lies	14175
Far from virtue always.	
He who wants to give with discretion	
Let him give neither too little nor too much.	
He has measured according to his means	
Who gives justly.	
He robs himself, truly,	14180
Who scatters his own.	
.	
.	
The man who wishes to give more,	
Must unjustly take much ;	
He must swear and lie	
And rob and cheat.	14190
He who has taken it unjustly,	
Has departed from gentleness ;	
Whilst virtue does no harm,	
Harm is done by un-virtue.	

One is to give presents to any one in suchwise	14195
That no one derive displeasure by the gift	
From whom it may have been taken.	
He who wants to give justly,	
Let him not delay too much.	14260
He who lets himself be begged much,	
Know ye that he has sold	
What he gives away.	
.	
Such is not the action of the gentle-man	
Who can give justly,	
For he seeks out to whom to give	
And what he'd better give.	14290
.	
He who sets an angry countenance	
When he gives : know ye	14310
He had better give nothing.	
He who gives, fearing the giving,	
And holds back at all times,	
He is full of cowardice,	14315
And is equal to him who refuses.	
One ought, by one's eyes and mouth,	
To show at the time	
Of giving, that one's disposition	
Of willingly giving is perceived.	14320
Know ye that he gives properly	
Who so gives always,	
That with the present, he bestows	
Both his will and heart.	
He is but a poor fellow ¹	14325
Who thinks of the money	
When he is to give anything :	
.	
He is quite a tradesman	
Who gives for gain, that is true.	

We have, in the foregoing, while speaking of the author, anticipated much that might be said of the book. On the whole, it may be observed, it justifies the remark of Hallam² that “in the books professedly written to lay down the duties of knighthood, they appear to

¹ *Boesenicht*.—but that word had not then, or at least plainly not always, the meaning of its modern form.

² Middle Ages. Chap. ix. Part II. Chivalry connected with religion, and with gallantry.

spread over the whole compass of human obligations. But these, like other books of morality, strain their schemes of perfection far beyond the actual practice of mankind." And Thomasin's conception of courtesy may again well be summed up in Hallam's observation¹ that "this word expressed the most highly refined good-breeding, founded less upon a knowledge of ceremonious politeness, though this was not to be omitted, than on the spontaneous modesty, self-denial, and respect for others, which ought to spring from the heart." Yet it ought to be observed that Thomasin consciously took a wider range, and fathomed more deeply human life than similar writers did, or than he had done himself in this first book from which the second distinctly is a progressive step. Hence the more he proceeds in *The Italian Guest*, the more do externals disappear, whilst in the first canto, the partial reproduction of the Courtesy book, they still hold their place. As one who had heard much of virtue in those books which glorified chivalry, and related to the search for the Graal and to similar subjects, he proposed to himself to inquire what then was really virtue, and what the conditions of arriving at it, an inquiry by which he necessarily was led to condemn much of that very spirit which pervaded those novels and was exhibited as a model. For it appeared to him that virtue could not be acquired or kept, unless by Steadiness, a word which would, in his sense and in our vocabulary, comprise Firmness, Consistency, Fortitude, and perhaps a few more cardinal virtues. To this Steadiness, allying itself to Sense, is opposed Unsteadiness, as allying itself with Nonsense, or Frivolity and Un-wisdom, and whose children are Anger and Lies, while her sister is Immoderation.² And against that Unsteadiness, whereof the hero Percival had his good share, Thomasin's shafts are for ever levelled in many passages, whereof the following is a fair sample :

UNSTEADINESS.

What is Unsteadiness ? A shame to the Lords,
 A going-astray in all lands.
 Unsteadiness is steadiness in bad things :
 No one can constrain her

1840

¹ Ibid., Courtesy.² V. 9885.

To lean to good things.
 Unsteadiness is not free.
 Unsteadiness is quite a serf
 To Un-virtue at all times. *
 Unsteadiness follows Un-virtue 1845
 Both in old age and in youth.
 Every Un-virtue has
 Both her service and her council.
 Unsteadiness is quite un-leisurely
 In all things, at all times. 1850
 What Unsteadiness does to-day
 That appears no longer good to her to-morrow.
 She builds up that which
 Her unsteady advice has broken.¹
 Unsteadiness changes quickly 1855
 The square into a curve.
 The curve she leaves not alone,
 As it had better stand on four corners.
 That is always her favourite game,
 To strive for that which she (really) has no wish for. 1860
 Change does not fright her :
 The little she makes into something great,
 The great, however, she makes little.
 Now she runs, now she walks softly,
 Now she mounts, now she falls down, 1865
 Now she goes away, to-morrow comes back,
 Now to the mountains, now to the sea,
 Now she is by herself (self-sufficient), to-morrow in a crowd,
 Now away to the wood, now in town :
 Here and there is she, 1870
 Since she carries that in her heart
 Which chases her every whither.
 From place to place she likes to go,
 But never from the desires of her own heart.
 If to the tail of a young dog 1875
 One ties a bell, he runs and turns
 Himself hither and thither, and knows not
 That he carries that from which he flees.
 Thus it is with the unsteady man.

As to the style of the book, our readers can form a correct idea by the fragments, both original and translated, which we give. On the whole, it cannot be said to be free from that prolixity which belongs to an age when time was plentiful ; yet here and there pas-

¹ Comp. Horace, Epist. I. lib. I. v. 100 et seq.

sages of great terseness occur, frequently in connection with an unexpected turn of thought.

Thomasin, like Lord Lytton, in our days, has dedicated his book to Germany, whose guest, very likely a welcome one, he felt himself.¹

We have said that *The Italian Guest* is preserved in many MSS. The oldest of these dates from 1248, and is preserved at Erbach; it is written with great neatness, and adorned with many illuminations, which Rückert believes may be reproductions of such as Thomasin himself made or indicated. The best, perhaps belonging to the end of the 13th century, is now again at Heidelberg; whence in the Thirty Years' War it had, with the rest of the library, been carried to the Vatican. It forms the basis of the text before us. Others are found at Gotha, Stuttgart, Dresden, Munich, Wolfenbüttel; and all the more valuable ones have been collated by our editor, while the Gotha MS. has served for some fragments published independently. To our Italian friends, mentioned above, we owe the information that the Abbey of Moggio in Friuli possesses, or possessed, a copy of Thomasin, the date of which reaches almost to the Erbach one.² These MSS., not counting several made in the last century, descend to the year 1457, showing therefore a continued appreciation of the book during about two centuries and a half. A writer, belonging to the middle of the 15th century, a Bavarian Knight, briefly mentions our book in his *Ehrenbrief*, which includes a kind of metrical *catalogue raisonné* of the literary works he was acquainted with.³

Still it had not the honour of being multiplied by the new art of printing; and however much it may have contributed to the spirit which produced Erasmus and the Reformers, it was not brought out again from partial oblivion by these, as was the case with *Piers Ploughman*, because it did not offer such polemical material

¹ V. 86-136.

² Da inventario di bene dell' Abazia di Moggio in Friuli si ha: Anno 1250 . . . liber teutonicus dictus *Valisergast*. Dall' archivio Capitolare di Udine.—No trace of this in Rückert or the other German writers.

³ Stanza 104. Den wällischen Gast gezieret Hat Thomasin von Clar. J. C. (the elder) Adelung's ed. of Püterich von Reicharzhausen, 1788, (in the Br. Mus.) p. 15.

as that book. For the first time, since the Reformation, Thomasin is mentioned by an obscure writer, named Turgel, in a short notice of MSS. in the Gotha Library, published in 1691.¹ After that, we find the book alluded to three or four times during the 18th century,² but merely as a literary fossil, and in a manner which leaves us very doubtful whether the notice which some literary antiquarians took of the MSS., led them to really read the book, and, to any extent, become aware of its spirit. The younger Adelung,³ when inquiring into the literary treasures of the Rome of his time, was one of the first to call more serious attention to *The Italian Guest*, at the end of the last century.⁴ Between his two publications on the Vatican Manuscripts, Eschenburg, the man who first gave to Germany a complete translation of Shakespere, published a few extracts from the Wolfenbüttel copy,⁵ and shortly after gave a chapter to our author in his 'Monuments of Old German Poetry.'⁶ It is, however, fairly allowable to believe that none of the writers mentioned had read Thomasin at all completely. This was reserved for our century, to the Grimms and their school. W. Grimm, in his *Reynard the Fox*, published from it a charmingly told fable; Wackernagel, in his *Reading book*, another extract on Etiquette or Courtesy rules. These two fragments have now been, for several years, before the English public, Max

¹ Monatl. Unterredungen, 1691. p. 926.

² By Cyprian, Schilter, Abbot Gebert of St Blasien, Miller, Gottsched, Bodmer. Vide Eschenburg, *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst*. Bremen, 1799. pp. 114-144. (In the Br. Mus.)

³ Frederick Adelung. *Nachrichten von altdeutschen Gedichten, welche aus der Heidelbergischen Bibliothek in die Vaticanische gekommen sind*. Königsberg, 1796.

Altdeutsche Gedichte in Rom, oder fortgesetzte Nachrichten von Heidelbergischen Handschriften in der Vaticanischen Bibliothek, v. Fr. Adelung. Königsberg, 1799.

⁴ *Habent sua fata libelli!* Adelung, in the first of these works just quoted, says (p. 39), "Perhaps this notice will serve to call greater attention to the treasures of the Vatican, which, alas, are probably for ever lost to our country." General Tilly, 1622, had carried away those treasures from Heidelberg; his master, Maximilian of Bavaria, presented them to the Pope. The rise of Napoleon was required to bring them from the Vatican to Paris, his fall to bring back to Heidelberg what had remained of them in spite of Tilly's soldiers and other pilferers.

⁵ In *Braga and Hermode*. vol. 2, Sect. II. pp. 134-56, &c. (not in Br. Mus.); quotation from Adelung's second report on the Vatican library.

⁶ Eschenburg, *Denkmäler*. Vide above.

Müller having included them, with translations into Modern Grammar, in his German classics.¹ Gervinus read the book in manuscript, and has the merit of communicating to his readers his high appreciation of our author; but according to his wont, speaks *ex cathedra* only, not taking the reader into his confidence, not adducing a single passage.² The book, and the public, had still to wait till 1852,³ when Dr Heinrich Rückert, now Professor at the University of Breslau, and a son of the poet Friedrich Rückert, gave us the first and only edition of Thomasin,⁴—a work of great learning and labour, but little comfort to the reader. It would certainly fall under the ire of Mr Thomas Carlyle against index-less books.⁵ And it is not an index only we miss, but also a glossary of difficult words, and those simple but useful contrivances yclept headlines, or at least indication of book and chapter at the top of the page, marginal notes, references, foot-notes. All the notes, together with the collations, are thrown to the end; and the greater part of them consists of disquisitions on details of metre and rhyme.⁶ On the whole, the typographical arrangement is uncomfortable; and the whole book seems characterized by a desire to be useful to one already deeply engaged in the study of Early German, but forbidding to the general reader, who must, it seems, by no means be attracted, by this book at any rate, to the study of the subject. In all these respects, the publications of the Early English Text Society seem to the present writer greatly preferable. They appear not to wish to warn off the premises of learning the innocent wanderer in the realms of letters who may curiously

¹ The German Classics. Longman, 1864, pp. 201, 212, and notice of Thomasin, p. xvii.

² G. G. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*. V. vols. 4 ed. Leipzig, 1853.—Vol. I. p. 429, et seq.; 3^d ed. 1846.

³ Dr Grion, an Italian writer, the author of an essay on Ciallo di Alcamo [Padua, 1858, Brit. Mus.], seems to have published a notice of Tommasino, previous to 1845. Dr Genala at Soresina, and Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza, to whom we owe this information, have, so far, not succeeded in procuring for us the *opusculum*.

⁴ Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria. Zum ersten Mal herausgegeben mit sprachlichen und geschichtlichen Anmerkungen von Dr Heinr. Rückert. Quedlinburg and Leipzig; Basse. 1852. xii. and 612 pp.

⁵ Life of Frederic the Great.

⁶ Biographically and with reference to the age in which our author lived, hardly anything is said. Even our calculations as to dates, p. 83 and 92, we had to make for ourselves, and for ourselves had to find the elements of them.

wish to stray into the paths of old national literature ; they appear rather to invite him by a little freshness in the very hedgerows which surround their paradise, and to take him kindly by the hand, and help on his step, though it be a little faltering at first, instead of scaring him with thorns and brambles of grim learning, and striking awe into him for approaching the sanctum of the initiated. Will the editor, whom we have to thank, not only with all his readers, for the immense labour he has bestowed on the book, but also personally for a courteous communication in reply to an inquiry of ours, and will other German scholars who may read this, pardon us for this friendly expression of a doubt whether by writing too much as professional and professorial *Gelehrte* for a class, nay almost a caste, of *Gelehrte*, and enwrapped in their dignity, utterly scorning the *dilettante*, they do not, almost wilfully, restrict too much the number of their readers, fail in their mission of interesting a large section of the educated public, and drive them into the insipidities of what is called in Germany popular literature ?

We now proceed to summarize at some length the first, and for this 'Book of Courtesy' most important, canto, proposing to give a much slighter sketch of the following ones. And for the first portion of this, we use an old summary, which is found in the Gotha-manuscript, written by the same hand as the whole poem, and repeated, with small variations, in most of the other MSS. Though not by Thomasin himself, it is undoubtedly very old,—much older than that Gotha MS. itself, whose date is 1340 ; it is made, on the whole, fairly enough, and for its naïve quaintness may merit partial reproduction.

S U M M A R Y.

BOOK THE FIRST.—V. 1—1706.

“ He who wants to know the matter whereof this book speaks, will find (here) the matters all marked down one after the other. This book is divided into ten parts, and each part has its chapters ; some parts have ten chapters, some more, some less, and each chapter has some sub-sections, some many, some few.

V. 1—140. Before I begin the book, I say in my preface that

every man is to apply himself that he may by his works fulfil that which he has read of good things ; and I tell how the bad man turns good counsel (speech) into bad ; and then I announce that I wish to speak of the Virtues, and what piety (*frumheith*) is, and what Discipline or Good Breeding (*zucht*) is ; and I explain that I am not quite master of the language, and ask (those of) the German tongue to favourably receive my outlandish (*welsch*) book, and not to let any *unsteady* (*unsteten*) man see it, and then I begin my book thus.

I. v. 141—296. I first of all speak of Idleness, and what one is to do at all times, and that Laziness is a blot upon (*schencket*) a man, and how difficult it is to get free of such a habit ; and what teaching one is to be ashamed of, and how wicked he is who has (in him) Vain-gloriousness, Lies and Mockery, and that one is not to boast, and that Boasting is (*wirser*) worse still in women than in men.

II. v. 297—526. I also say how young gentlemen behave noisily (*schallent*) when they come from court to the tavern, and how badly that sits upon them, and that they ought to observe those things which they have seen at court, and that they ought to treat their followers well ; and I say how and wherefore one ought to honour strangers."

Let us here interrupt the summary by introducing a set of courtesy rules : they are those which Mr Max Müller has given, as mentioned above ; and for the convenience of such of our readers as may possess his 'German Classics,' we depart, in this instance only, from Rückert's text, and adopt the forms, chiefly dialectically and not essentially differing, of the Gotha MS., which Mr Müller, with Wackernagel, has followed. For we may observe in passing that the copyists of that time, in translating a book, were inclined to adapt its language to the dialect of their part of the country.

ich wil daz einr den andern êre,
wellent si volgen zûhte lêre.

ir deheiner sol zeiner tür
den andern allen dringen für.

Beidiu frowen unde hêren
sulen frömde liute êren :
ist sîn ein frömder man niht wert,
si habent sich selben geêrt.

I wish that one should honour the other,
If they wish to follow the teaching of
Good Breeding.

None of them shall at a door
Press before all the others.
Both ladies as well as gentlemen
Shall honour strangers :

If any stranger be not worthy of it,
Yet they have done honour to them-
selves.

ist sîn aber wert der,
sô habent si sîn beide êr.
man enweiz niht wer der frömde ist,

dâ von êr man in zaller frist.

swenn ze hove chumt ein fremder gast,
diu chint suln im dienen vast

sam er wære ir aller hêrre,

daz ist der zûhte wille und lêre.

si sulen haben chiuschiu wort,
wan daz ist der zûhte hort.

Ein frowe sol sich sehen lân,
chumt zir ein vremeder man.
swelihu sich niht sehen lât,

diu sol ûz ir chemenât

sîn allenthalben unerchant ;
bûeze alsô, sî ungenant.

ein frowe sol niht vrevêlich
schimphen, daz stêt wîplich.

ich wil ouch des verjehen,
ein frowe sol niht vaste an sehen
ein fremden man : daz stet wol.
ein edel junchêrre sol
beidiu rîtter unde vrowen
gezogenliche gerne schowen.
ein juncfrowe sol senftliclich

und niht lût sprechen sicherlich.
ein junchêr sol sîn sô gereit

daz er vernem swaz man im seit,

sô daz ez undurft sî,
daz man im aber sage wî.

zuht wert den vrowen alln gemein
sitzen mit bein über bein.
ein junchêr sol ûf ein banc,
sî sî churz oder lanc,
deheine wîse stên niht,
ob er ein ritter dâ sitzen siht.
ein vrowe sol ze deheiner zît
treten weder vast noch wît.
wizzet daz ez ouch übel stet,
rît ein ritter dâ ein vrowe gêt.

But if he be worthy of it,
Then both parties are honoured.
One does not know who a stranger
may be :

Therefore let him be honoured at all
times.

When a strange guest comes to the Hall,
The young people shall do him great
service,

The same as if he were the lord of all
of them :

Such is the will and teaching of Good
Breeding ;

Let them speak choice words,
Seeing such is the treasure of Good
Breeding.

A lady shall allow herself to be seen,
When a stranger-man comes to her :
She who does not allow herself to be
seen,

She shall, out of her own withdrawing
room,

Be unrecognized everywhere ;

Let her thus suffer for it, let her not
be mentioned.

Let not a lady jest boldly :

That looks as if she were a common
woman.

This too I will maintain :

A woman shall not look much at
A stranger-man : that is befitting.

A noble young lord shall

Like to look modestly

Both upon knights and ladies.

A young lady shall assuredly speak
softly

And not loud.

A young lord (younker) shall be so
ready

That he understands what one says to
him,

So that there may be no need

That one should for a second time say
to him, how (to do it).

Good Breeding forbids all ladies

To sit with one leg over the other.

A young lord shall not step upon a bench.

Be it short or long,

In any wise,

If he sees a knight sitting there.

A lady shall at no time

Step out fast nor wide.

Know again that it is ill befitting

If a knight rides where a lady goes.

ein vrowe sol sich, daz geloubet,
chêren gegen des pherdes houbet

swenn si rîtet ; man sol wîzen,
si sol niht gar dwerhes sizzen.
ein ritter sol niht vrâvelîch
zuo frowen rîten sicherlîch,
ein vrowe erschraht hât dick getân

den spruch der bezzer wær verlân.
swer sinem rosse des verhenget
daz ez eine vrowen besprenget,
ich wæne wol daz sîn wîb
ouch âne meisterschaft belîb.
zuht wert den rittern alln gemein
daz si niht dicke schowen ir bein,
swenn si rîtet ; ich wæne wol
daz man ûf sehen sol.
ein vrowe sol recken niht ir hant,
swenn si rîtet für ir gewant ;
si sol ir ougen und ir houbet

stille haben, daz geloubet.
ein junchêrr unde ein ritter sol
hie an sich ouch behûeten wol,
daz er stille habe die hant
sô im ze sprechen sî gewant :
er sol swingen niht sîn hende
wider eines frumen mannes zende.
swer der zûhte wol geloubet,
der sol setzen ûf niemens houbet
sîn hant der tiurer sî denn er,

noch ûf sîn ahsel : daz ist êr.

Wil sich ein vrowe mit zuht bewarn,

sô sol si niht ân hülle varn ;
si sol ir hüll ze samne hân,
ist si der garnæsch ân :
lât si amne lîbe iht sehen bar.

daz ist wider zûhte gar.
ein riter sol niht vor vrowen gên
barschinchere, als ichz chan verstên.

ein vrowe sol niht hinder sich
dicke sehen, dunchet mich.
si gê vür sich gerihte
unde sehe umb ze nihte ;
godench an ir zuht über al

ob si gehoer deheinen schal.
ein juncfrowe sol selten iht

A lady shall, believe ye,
Turn herself towards the head of the
horse

When she rides : one must know
She is not to sit quite crossways.
A knight shall not boldly
Ride up to ladies :
A woman, frightened, has often (done)
uttered

The speech that were better not made.
He who allows his horse
To bespatter a lady,
I quite suppose that his wife
Is without a good master likewise.
Good Breeding forbids all knights
To look much at their legs
When they ride : I am much of opinion
That one is to look upwards.
A lady shall not stretch her hand
Out of her garment, when she rides ;
She shall keep quiet her eyes and her
head,

Believe ye that.
A younker and a knight shall
Be careful in this too,
That he keeps his hand quiet
If he has to speak :
He shall not swing his hands
Against a good man's teeth.
He who well believes in Good Breeding,
Let him place on no one's head
His hand, who is of greater account
than himself,
Nor upon his shoulder : that is honour-
able.

If a lady wants to keep herself within
good breeding,
Let her not go out without mantle ;
She shall gather her mantle together
If she is without her long upper gown :
If she let any part of her body be seen
bare

That is quite against Good Breeding.
A knight shall not go before ladies
With bare legs ; as far as I can under-
stand things.

A lady shall not much
Look behind her, so it appears to me :
Let her go forth straightways
And not look about her,
Everywhere mindful of her good
breeding,

Even though she hear a noise.
A young lady shall rarely

sprechen, ob mans vrâget niht.
 ein vrowe sol ouch niht sprechen vil,
 ob si mir gelouben wil;
 und benamen swenne si izzet,
 sô sol si sprâchen niht, daz wizzet.

Man sol zem tische sich bewarn,
 der mit zûhte welle varn,

(ge dâ hœret grôziu zuht zuo) :
 ein ieglich biderb wirt der tuo
 war, ob si haben alle gnuoc.

der gast der sî sô gevuoc,
 daz er tuo dem geliche gar,
 sam er dâ nihtes neme war.

swelch man sich rehte versinnet,
 swenne er ezzen beginnet,
 son rûer niht wan sîn ezzen an
 mit der hant : dar ist wol getân.

man sol daz brôt ezzen niht
 ê man bring d' êrsten riht.
 ein man sol sich behüeten wol
 daz er niht legen sol
 beidenthalben in den munt,
 er sol sich hüeten ze der stunt
 daz er trinch und spreche niht
 di wil er hat in dem munde iht.
 die mit dem becher ze den gesellen ¹

sich chêren als si in geben wellen,
 ê si in tuon von den munden,
 der win hât si dar zuo gebunden.
 swer trinchende ûz dem becher siht,
 daz zimpt hüfschen mannen niht.

ein man vor dem gesellen sîn

niht neme, daz ist diu lêre mîn,
 daz im dâ gevalle wol,
 wan er vor im ezzen sol.

man sol ezzen zaller frist
 mit der hant diu engegen ist :

sitzet der gesell zer rechten hant,
 so iz mit der linchen hant.
 man sol ouch daz gerne wenden,
 daz man iht ezz mit beiden henden.
 man sol ouch dâ sô gâhen niht,

Speak anything, unless one ask her.
 Nor shall a lady at all speak much,
 If she will believe me ;
 And especially when she eats,
 Then she shall not speak, that know.
 One must be watchful over oneself
 If one will bear oneself with Good
 Breeding

(For it is a matter of much breeding) :
 Let every honest host be
 Careful whether they (*his guests*) have
 all of them enough ;
 Let the guest be so well disposed,
 That he act similarly
 As if he were aware of nothing (*sup-
 posing anything to have gone
 amiss*).

A man who is well balanced in his mind,
 When he begins to eat,
 He touches nothing but his food
 With the hand : that is doing things
 well.

One must not eat the bread
 Before the first dishes are brought.
 A man shall be very careful
 Not to put (*food*)
 On both sides in his mouth.¹
 He shall at that time be on his guard
 Lest he drink or speak
 Whilst he has something in his mouth.
 Those who turn with the beaker to
 their companions

As if they were about to give it,
 Before they take it from their lips,
 Them the wine has bound thereto,
 Who, drinking, looks over the beaker
 (*does that which*) is not fitting for
 courteous men.

Let a man not take before his com-
 panions

Anything, that is my teaching,
 Which may please him there ;
 For he (*the companion or guest*) shall
 eat before him.

One shall eat at any time
 With that hand which is over against
 (*the guest*) :

If the companion sit at your right hand,
 Then eat with your left hand.
 One shall also willingly avoid
 To eat anything with both one's hands.
 One shall also not be so greedy

¹ Babels Book, Pt. II. p. 29, l. 36, &c.

daz man mit dem gemazzen¹ iht
grîfe in die schüzzel mit der hant :
wan dâ von wirt unzuht bechant.

der wirt sol ouch der spîse enpern

der sîne geste niht engern
und diu in ist ungenæme,
wan daz niht wol zæme ;
und geb ouch niht ungemaine.

der wolf izzet gerne eine :
der olbent izzet eine niht
ob er des wilds iht bî im siht.
dem volgt der wirt mit êren baz
dann dem wolve, wizzet daz.
der wirt nâch dem ezzen sol
daz wazzer geben : daz stêt wol.
dâ sol im dechein chneht
denne dwahen : daz ist reht ;
wil dwahen im ein junchêrre,
der gê hin dan vil verre.

As, at the same time with one's com-
panion,

To put one's hand into the dish :
For by that want of good breeding
appears.

The host, again, shall go without such
food

As his guests do not like,
And which is unpleasant to them,
As that is not well befitting ;
And let him also give nothing apart
(for one).

The wolf likes to eat by himself :
The camel² does not eat by himself,
If he sees any of the beasts near him.
Him follows the host with more honour
Than the wolf, know that.
The host, after dinner, shall
Hand the water: that befits him well.
Therein shall no page (?)
Then wash (*his hands*) : that is right ;
If a younker wants to wash,
Let him go far away.

We return to the summary, but give up from here the quotation of the old *résumé*, still, however, availing ourselves of it, extending or restricting it, as may seem best, and varying it by the introduction of passages.

III. v. 527—580. That one ought not to laugh too much, nor secretly spy out one's companion's doings ; and that one ought to beware of him who likes thus to play the spy ; and that one shall faithfully keep secret what one's companion tells one, and why one ought to do so, and that one is to be careful of whom, to whom, what, how, and when one speaks ; and of what the children of lords are to beware.

IV. v. 581—686. That one is to speak little, and to listen much. Children are to be taught reverence. Thus made to feel reverence,

¹ *gunazzen* ? Thus the Gotha MS., in M. Müller's book. Dr Rückert, following the Heidelberg MS., has *gesellen*, which is plain.

² *Olbente, elbende*, or, more rarely *olpent*, seems, etymologically, clearly *elephant*, ἐλέφας, *αντος*, with which compare Goth. *albendas*, O.H.G. *olpenta*, but is not used to designate this animal, but the camel.—Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. 42. Yet, we find in Müller & Zarncke's *Mittelhochdeutsch. Wörterbuch* (whereof the leaves in the Brit. Mus. copy were first cut by the present writer), p. 437, two or three passages which seem plainly to point to the elephant.

they will be able to control themselves. Every child shall bear in his mind some pious (upright, reverential, and gentle, *f'rumen*) man, and shall think of him, so as to fancy that this pattern sees whatever the child may do ;—and who are to be obeyed, and that one is to have (good) habits at home, so as to bear oneself well at court ;—and that one is to preserve modesty ;—and that one is not to follow (the guidance) of envy and anger.

V. v. 687—777. That one is to beware of gambling ; and that he is thought a fool that speaks too much, and also he that is too silent ; and that no one is to do or to say all that comes to his mind, and that one is to speak and to act with sense ; and how foolish he is that in his childhood fancies he may know without teaching ; for

Der sin bescheidet einen man
von dem vihe daz niht kan.

Sense distinguishes a man
From the beasts that know nothing.

and that one ought willingly to hear good teaching, and to let the bad go.

VI. v. 773—880. How one cannot find a good pattern in Helen (*“ der schoenen Küneginne diu wîlen da ze Kriechen was ”*) ; and that a woman is not to be glad if another woman acts badly.

On the contrary :

da von ein biderbe wîp sol
trûric sîn, tuot niht wol
ein ander wîp.

A good woman ought
To be sad, if badly acts
Another woman.

and she had better look out for herself, that she may not get into the same way :

wan si sol ir vûrhten hart
daz si niht kome in ir vart.

Let women rather take warning (lit. some sense) from the mishap of the woman who was called Helena.

In Greece over all the lands
She was a powerful queen.
She had much beauty and little sense,
Her beauty gained her great shame :
Beauty without sense is a weak security.

824-28

And what kind of sense a woman shall have, and what sense is enough for a woman ; a detail on which in these days of women's rights, colleges, examinations and so on, old Thomasin may be heard with some little additional interest, rather on the conservative side :

- v. 837. A woman has enough sense
 In that she be courteous and pliable,
 And also have good gestures
 With beautiful speech and a chaste mind.
 If she then have more sense,
 Let her have Good Breeding and Teaching,
 Let her not make a show of what she has in her mind ;
 One does not require her for a Mayor.¹
 A man must have many arts :
 In a noble woman Good Breeding requires
 That she have not much artfulness,
 If she is honest and noble.
 Simplicity sits well upon women,
 Yet it is right that a woman
 Have that teaching and that sense
 That she may beware of un-love.
 One often calls Love the thing
 That one had better call Un-love.

854

That beauty, friends, birth, riches, love (or loveliness ?) are worthless without sense ; and that Beauty may do harm to honour ; and that Beauty and lightheadedness (lit. nonsense, *unsinn*) are two girdles on a woman's body (?) ² which draw her the wrong way.

diu schœne macht daz man si bite,	The beauty causes her to be solicited,
sô hilfet der unsin vast dâ mite	And the nonsense greatly helps there-
daz er ræt der vrouwen wol	To advise the woman
ze tuon daz si niht taon sol.	To do what she ought not to do. ³

VII. v. 881-994. That one is not to give away honour for beauty ; or with a view to be made beautiful for ever :

Durch boesen Kouf ze Markte gât	He makes a bad bargain
Swer umbe schoen sîn êre lâit,	Who gives his honour for beauty ;

and that beauty is dishonoured without discipline.

Every kind of malice has its gestures (or outward appearance).

(Yet) one is deceived by appearances ; seeing deceives vastly, in both women and men [*am sehen triuget man sich dicke*, 939].

beidiu man und ouch wîp	Both man, and also woman,
erzeigent oft daz in ir lîp	Often show that which in their bodies
und in ir herzen niender ist :	And in their hearts is nowhere :
daz machet gar ir boeser list.	That is caused by their wicked cunning.

¹ *ze potestât*. The author thinks of the Italian *podesta*, as chief municipal magistrate or mayor ; one of the few passages by which he betrays his origin.

² *Gebende* : ornaments, head-dresses, according to Wackernagel, *Edelsteine* ; neither gives a satisfactory sense. The word *Ge-bend-e* points to the verb *bind*.

³ v. 877-86.

A wicked woman's beauty is not to be considered as beauty, is only skin-beauty; she is but like gilt copper, a baser metal.

daz an im lützel goldes hat
under schoener vel ist valscher rât.
man sol wizen daz valsche liut
hânt niht mër schoene wan ir hiute.

? . . wherein there is little gold.
Under a fine skin, bad counsel.
One must know that false people
Have not more beauty than is in their
skins.

Some virtues sit better upon women than upon Knights, and some sit well upon Knights, and some vices ("un-virtues") sit worse upon women, and some worse upon Knights.

In the detail of this there seems some arbitrariness:

One gets poisoned in honey even
When the sweetness is meant to betray us.
The tongue of false women is honey,
Their will is venom, know that, Christian.
Falseness befits no one well:
A woman (however) shall guard
Against Falseness more than a man;
Falseness sits worse upon women.
Thus mildness is befitting for all people
Every woman shall be mild;
Yet mildness befits Knights better
Than ladies, know ye that.
Humility befits both well:
A Knight and a lady shall
Be humble-minded; yet befits humbleness
The ladies better, and their goodness
Shall be ornamented with that virtue
Both in old age and in youth.
The Knight, piety (vrümkeit) befits well;
The ladies, faithfulness and truth.
The Knight, if timid, is dishonoured;
So is a false woman equally fallen (desecrated away from
her station, annihilated)
The crafty Knight is quite without honour,
The stupid woman is without good teaching.
Archness befits not the Knight:
A lady shall be on her guard against unsteadiness
And against unfaithfulness,
And against haughtiness, that is good.
If she have not these virtues in her,
Her beauty is quite desecrated.

VIII. v. 995—1162. Of the snares of the fools; and who is a

good wife ; and what young gentlewomen and youngers like to be told ; and whom they are to follow ; and what those are to hear and to read who have come out of childhood,—romantic poems ¹—*aventures*—are good for the young and the little-cultivated, as are pictures. But those whose minds are more developed, or literally *who have come to their senses*, they are to be taught (lit. mastered) differently from children ; and that an eloquent (lit. well-speaking) man shall not depart from truth.

IX. v. 1163—1337. I have travelled away from my aim, and have said things that I should not have said but for the young people. I should yet have liked to speak of Knights and ladies, as I have done formerly in a book on Courtesy which I wrote in Italian."

Of what nature is love.

Der minn natüre ist sô getân :
si machet wiser wîsen man,
und gît dem tôrn mêr nârrischeit,
daz ist der minne gewonheit.

This is the nature of love :
It makes a wise man wiser,
And gives the fool more foolishness.
That is love's custom.²

How one is to guard a wife ; and one is neither to gain her by magic, nor force her, nor buy her ;³

HOW TO GUARD A WIFE.

I taught (in the lost Italian book) that one
Ought to conquer one's wife with (good things) kind acts ;
That she should be steadfast (*staete*) to one.
He who locks her up alone
He dispenses quite with her service.
Now tell me, of what good is it,
That I lock up her body,
If then her will is not as it should be ?
No lock will keep the mind :
The Body without the heart is a feeble possession :
Locks create great hatred :

¹ Here, v. 1029-78 is introduced a list of legendary names, the subjects either of well-known French and German poems, or mentioned in some of these ; and in some cases perhaps the titles of books that are lost. The list, beginning with Andromache, who is not known to have given the title to any substantive poem, finishes with a paean in honour of Percival. Some passages in this are difficult and obscure. H. Rückert, 528—32.

² V. 1179-82.

³ Vide W. Humboldt, *Sphere and Duties of Government*, p. 31, seq., on Matrimony and Love.

Kind actions act as a better safeguard.
 Love, gained by magic and by force,
 And bought love, are no love.
 He who has had recourse to magic,
 Know ye that he has violated
 Her whom he has loved by such means ;
 He has the (manners) ways of an uncourteous man.
 He has quite an uncourteous mind
 Who does violence to women.

that bought love is not love ;—

swer mit hüfscheit niht werven kan,	He who cannot woo with courtesy,
der wirt billich ein koufman.	Let him properly become a tradesman.
gekouft minn hât niht minne kraft :	Bought love has not the power of love.

that love would be a serf (*eigen*) if one were to buy it ; and that it is to be free. And what one is to give through love :

One shall give heart for heart,
 One shall with faith give faith,
 With love (*liebe*, not *minne*) one shall gain love.
 One shall with steadiness confirm
 Steadiness and truth.¹

and that the gift does not mend what is evil.

That a man gives to her who makes a fool of him ;—that a man gives (will give) to her who herself has enough, and not give to her who has nothing.

A fool sees what ornaments a woman has outside on her body, the wise man sees what are the ornaments of her soul ;—the following goes again into the direction of woman's right, and this time on the side of our reformers. That a man shall not deny a woman her possessions (*guot*). On this subject our author expresses himself briefly but pithily :

Ich lêrt daz dehein biderbe man	I taught (again in the lost Italian book)
niht enkêr sînn muot dar an	that no upright man
daz er abe spricht eim wîbe ir guot.	Should turn his mind to
wan swelch wîp daz getuot,	Denying a woman her goods.
ez stât ir vil bœslîche :	If any woman does such a thing
doch stât es wirser ungelîche	It befits her very ill :
einem man, daz sult ir glouben.	But incomparably more ill does it befit
wizzt daz ich gerner wolde rouben.	A man : that you shall believe.
	Know ye that I sooner would rob on
	the highways. ²

¹ v. 1251-56.

² v. 1330-37.

What a woman may take from her friend :

Ich lêrt waz einer vrouwen zeme

daz si von ir vriunde neme :
hantschuoeh, spiegel, vingerlîn,
vûrspangel, schapel, blüemelîn.
ein vrouwe sol sîn wol behuot
daz si niht neme grœzer guot,
ezn wær daz sis bedorft wol :
so erloube ich ir dan daz si sol
nemen mêre und niht sô vil,
sîn erzeige wol daz si wil
daz ir der vriunt si vûr daz guot,

wan anders hiet si valschen muot.
ob ir ze nemen iht geschiht
mêr, bedarf sis danne niht,
ir ist der vriunt niht liep gar,

daz sol man wizen wol vûr wâr.

I taught (before) what it was fit for a
woman

To take from her friend :

Gloves, looking-glass,¹ finger-ring,
Brooch, hat, flowers.

A woman must be well on her guard
Not to take anything of greater value,
Unless she be in want of it :

In that case I allow her to
Take more, yet not too much.

Let her plainly show that she feels
The friend to be of more value than
the present,

Otherwise she has a false spirit.

But if it happen to her to take
More, though she do not want it,
Then she really does not care for the
friend,

That ye shall know.²

That wives shall be steady to their husbands ;—likewise a husband shall not care for another's wife ; (the motive adduced is, however, not very lofty :)

ja en sol er sich niht kêren an
ander wîp ; swer eine hât,
der mac der andern haben rât.

Nay, he shall not care for
Another wife ; he who has one
May do without another,

“What I, however, most like in women, is that they be truthful : ”

Mir was ie liep der vrouwen êre ;

kund ich iht daz in nütze wære,

ich kêrt ez gerne an ir dienest.

mir ist an einer vrowen ez liebest
daz si vor valsche sî behuot.

valsch kêrt minn zunminne, unde guot

To me the honour of the ladies was
ever dear ;

If I knew aught that would be of use
to them,

I should willingly apply it in their
service.

What I like best in a woman is
That she guard herself against false-
ness.

Falseness turns love into un-love, and
good

¹ Be it not forgotten that this trait of manners is found in the 13th century : can, in the face of this, the common tradition be upheld, that the introduction of looking-glasses into England took place in the reign of Elizabeth only ? And how about the looking-glass Richard II. makes use of in Shakspeare's play ? of course, the incident may be introduced by the poet, and without historical foundation. Compare also a remark of Mr Rossetti's, on page 5 of his Essay, on the advance of refinement in Italy, as compared with other countries.

² v. 1338-52.

ze übelen dingen, und daz wise
ze swarzem mit al sinem vlize.
ze bitter gall kêrt valsch die süeze

und ze ungnâdn ir schœne grüeze.
lüge ir geheiz, ir senfte ist zorn,

ir lachen weinn, ir linde dorn.

Into evil things, and the white
Into black, with all diligence.

Into bitter gall turns falseness the
sweet,

And into disfavour her fine greetings.
Into lie her orders, her gentleness into
anger,

Her laughing into weeping, her soft-
ness into thorns.¹

An upright wife shall not allow her body to be touched ; and no man shall do it ;—nor shall a man who understands courtesy invite an upright wife ; nor solicit her (concerning which matter our author is rather prolix, showing among others the evil effect which such solicitations have in making women vain). But she is mistaken in fancying herself so very excellent : lying in her bed she thinks, such a one has done so much for my sake, another has woo'd me still more ; I know as a truth that I am beautiful and a dear creature, since these gentlemen, of so much standing, turn their love to me, with all their hearts and their minds. This is a mistake :

dar umbe sagich iu vür wâr
daz diu vrouwe ist betrogen gar
diuz vür êre haben wil
daz man si bite des dinges vil.
ich hânz iu nu genuoc geseit,
man tuotz niht durch ir werdekeit,
ave dâ von daz si hât den muot
daz man weiz daz siz gerne tuot.

Therefore I truly tell you :
That woman is wholly deceived
Who fancies it an honour
If she be much solicited.
I have now sufficiently told you,
Men do not do it from her worth,
But because she has such a spirit
That one knows she willingly does it.²

The King's treasure, which thieves know to be well guarded, is not attacked ; the poorer house, unguarded, invites the ill-doer. So does an inviting woman ; and a man having conquered the undefended beauty, goes to others.

XI. v. 1513—1706. How one can know what an old woman's disposition was in her youth (a section which forms a good counter-part to Béranger's wicked song of the Grandmamma). How one is to act by a lady whom one cannot gain. One is in kindness to leave her ; scolding will not win her, and is shameful to a man, who by so doing turns her spirit against him. "Of falseness I have said a deal (ein teil), more about it may be found in my Italian book ; I wrote it in honour of a lady who asked me for it. There

¹ V. 1371-84.

² V. 1435-45.

ich lerte wie ein vrouwe solde
 diu sich gern bewaren wolde
 erkenn die valschen minnære,
 ich lerte mangan schoenen list,
 daz man baz sîn êre vrist

vor den valschen ungetriuwen.

I have taught how a lady,
 Who would guard against mischief,
 Should know false lovers.
 I taught many a pretty art
 How one can the better keep one's
 honour

Against the false and faithless ones."

Against rash marriages. That a woman shall know to whom she entrusts (lit. recommends) her heart and body; and that this is more important than to whom she entrusts her worldly goods:

Man sol den man erkennen wol
 dem man sin herze enphelhen sol.
 jâ sol wizzen ein biderbe wîp
 wem si enphelhen welle ir lip;

wan si ouch liht wizzen wolde
 wem si ir guot enphelhen solde.

One shall know well the man
 To whom one is to entrust one's heart.
 Well shall an upright woman know
 To whom she wishes to entrust her
 body,—

Even though she should know but little
 To whom she were to entrust her goods.¹

So shall likewise a man guard himself against an undesirable woman (*unvertigen* = whose ways are not the best; in modern German the word (*unfertig*) would mean, if used in this connection, *incomplete*, so that we seem enjoined to marry paragons only).

unvertîgiu wîp und diebe
 die sint mir geliche liebe.
 ein biderbe man sol hân den muot,
 bewar vor dieben sîn guot,
 und vor dem unvertigen wîp
 bewar noch harter sînen lip.

Loose women and thieves
 Are to me of equal worth.
 Let an upright man have the courage
 To guard his goods against thieves;
 And to guard still more his body
 Against a loose woman.

A lady may love him whom she has known to be good. One of her own station is preferable; but should he not be so, let her make sure that he is upright and good; then she may do it (love him). Contrariwise, noble birth and riches must not weigh with her if he is not good. Let her not make the mistake of preferring a seemingly easy-going but foolish person to a wise man:

Ein wîp gedenket lihte daz
 mir wirt mit einem tîren baz
 dan mit einem wîsen man
 der allez daz merken kan
 daz ich tuon ode sprich.
 mit den gedanken triugt si sich.

ein wîs man übersiht vil
 des ein tîr niht übersehen wil

A woman easily thinks thus:
 'I shall be better off with a fool
 Than with a wise man
 Who may (observe) mark everything
 I do or say.'
 With such thoughts she deceives her-
 self:

A wise man overlooks much
 That a fool will not overlook

¹ v. 1579-84.

und niht übersehen kan.
wizzt daz der unwise man
der verkêret aller slaht,
sô hât der wîs die meisterschaft

daz erz allez kêrt ze guot.

And cannot overlook.
Know that the unwise man
Turns everything into evil,
Whilst the wise man possesses the
mastery
Of turning everything into good.¹

Let not a woman leave the path of duty in hopes that nothing will be said about it, or that if said, it will not be believed. Let no man try to further his suit to a lady, by dispraising another whom she may favour, or by praising himself: the former is uncourteous; fools can do the latter. Besides, dispraising another suitor is blaming her who has seen a friend in him.

"I have taught what virtue was to be cultivated by women, and how a noble Knight was to act to make himself pleasant, and what was fitting for women, and what they should occupy themselves with, how to bear themselves, how to speak to old ones as well as to young; -- (all) this I said in Welhish (Italian?), and were I to say it in German, I might not say it so (well) easily.

I will now return to my matter in hand, and speak of gentlemen, and how they are to tend their virtues, for he who does not do so, his virtue is as good as lost. And so

Ich hân verent daz êrste teil :
got gebe uns zuo dem andern heil !

I have ended the first part :
God give us grace for the second ! "

BOOK II.

treats of Steadiness, then of Unsteadiness, shows the harmony existing in things above man,—the steadiness of the heavenly bodies,—the action of the elements,—and the unsteadiness of nations and kings. The end of the world is coming.

BOOK III.

continues the picture of the unsteadiness of man, and treats of Riches and Poverty, of Glory, Dominion, Power, Nobility, and Name.

1. Whence we are so unsteady, and why God does not prevent us from being so.

2. Everything in nature is steady, only man's heart is not so. Each one strives after the position of the other, instead of filling his

¹ v. 1606-19.

own. How strange if the dog would draw the cart, and the ox hunt the hare. But they are not so foolish : men are.

3. That our lots are well portioned out, and the poor are not worse off than the rich ; and what both are in want of, is Truth, and what they fancy their wants to be ; and of the great trouble men take to get what is not for their good ; and how they must leave it all behind in the end.

4. That the good things of this world do not make a man good ; and that riches do us more harm than good, and a good many kindred considerations.

5. How the poor man worries himself with the thought of how he might become rich, and what he would do then, and how this is apt to make him mean and of low cunning, and what castles in the air he builds ;—and that riches are a trouble both to get and to keep.

6. That the people are better off than the lords, and that it is foolish for every one to wish to be a lord. And how the lord is encumbered with care.

7. Of the foolish ideas and plans people make themselves as to what they would do if they were lords ; and how, not having the realities, they plague themselves with their fancies. Their imaginary hunting and hawking parties, and how they awake disenchanted.

8. That the powerful are not better than the powerless, and that the powerful are worse off ; and how they for ever scheme how to bring others into subjection, and that they never succeed to their heart's desire. And that all power is most unsteady, as many examples from ancient history and contemporaneous events prove. And the power of the powerful depends really on the powerless. Thus Riches, Lordship, and Sovereign power cannot give satisfaction to men.

9. Of the foolish and criminal thoughts of him who dreams of gathering a great army and slaying his enemies.

10. Of the frivolity of glory, of a desire to spread one's name, and of gathering praises ; and of people who praise you to your face, and slander you behind your back. And that good things are not done by desire of glory, and how greed of fame encumbers a man ; and of his foolish dreams.

11. Of nobility, and its obligations ; and what real nobility is ; and that we are all God's children by birth, and those who remain so are really noble.

12. On various desires, which various men have : Play, the pleasures of the Table, Hawking, Lying in one's Inn, Hunting, Women ; and how all these give us much trouble both whilst we are engaged with them ; and, when not possessing them, whilst we dream of them.

BOOK IV.

1. On Riches, Dominion, Power, Name, Nobility and Desire, as connected with Unsteadiness. These need not trouble us if we do not wish to serve Un-virtue.

2 & 3. On Steadiness ; definition.¹ A few virtuous acts do not make a virtuous man. Various subdivisions of this matter. The good man turns whatever befalls him into good, the bad man to evil. Thus the bad man, if he becomes rich, is uncharitable.²

4. Why God permits a bad man to do harm to a good one ; and how it can be right that the devil is powerful.

5. Why evil sometimes befalls the good man, whilst it goes well with the bad one.

6. No one can penetrate God's decrees, and what he does is done well.

7. Let the good man fear nothing, and not care how long, but how, he lives.

8. On the death of friends, which is to be regretted, but with moderation. On the death of married people, and on second marriage, not too hastily to be entered into ; and on chastity during widowhood. On secret transgressions.

9. Whether one shall recognize one's friends in the world to come.

BOOK V.

1. Division of things into good, evil, and neutral.

2. The *Summum Bonum*, and the way to it.

¹ V. 4345-62.

² V. 4391-4400.

3. What attracts us to the highest good, and how the devil tries to drag us down the ladder again, using six hooks, called Riches, Power, Nobility, Name, Desire, Dominion.

4. No one comes to God but by virtue. No one possesses virtue entirely but God. A picture of such as have gone to hell through vice. On the error of redeeming sin through almsgiving; and that it is not possible for the rich to gain more in the eyes of God than the poor. Of the emperors Constantine and Julian who burn in hell.

5. On unjust lords. That an unjust ruler is an illegitimate one.¹ Of the good old times, and that it is the fault of the lords that the times have become worse. Good knights are concealed, let the rulers find them.

6. The priests, too, were better in olden times. And the good among them now are not honoured as they used to be. Wise people are to be beloved, and the lords are to help those who wish to learn, and so are the bishops; and why they do not do so, and how great genius is allowed to run to waste through poverty.

7. Why art and knowledge are not acceptable: with something more on the neglect of learning. We are too much taken up by the desire of gain, and by the idea that the richer is the better man. And this again is the fault of the lords. Idleness leads to vice; and those lords that are responsible for the neglect of learning will fare worse even than we. And some more about hell. On pitch and sulphur abounding there; also of the chains and baths which they use in that place. And how, in defence, a chain of virtues may be prepared, and a bath hot with goodness.

BOOK VI.

1. To be steadfast in virtue, which, notwithstanding many drawbacks, ultimately gains the day. Examples of men who, by their virtue, brought great honour on God, even in their lifetimes, such as Bias, Job, Joseph, Moses, and David.

2. We ought to praise a good man, but the praise of the unwise

¹ V. 6253-80.

is worthless. Of heartless rich men and usurers. On bringing one's children up to being merciful.

3. Of gentleness, and of anger, arrogance, envy, and unchastity, as sources of sorrow. Of robbers and thieves.

4. Mild men are more rarely injured than heartless ones. Malice comes from cowardice. Of the necessity of a pious knight waging war against the vices ; and details of this warring, in which the Devil and the World and Desire help the Vices. Four troops of Vices and their order of battle.

5. Exhortation to knights and to priests. Of the duty of lords to those who are submitted to them, and how we ask our inferiors often to do both good and evil, whilst God asks us to do good only. Of our duties towards our friends.

6. Against wicked counsellors, the devil's whetstone and net. Dangers of greediness. Good cheer in poverty. On the necessity of faith in God's judgments. And some more about hell, whither hasten both priests and laymen.

BOOK VII.

1. Of the soul, and of its relations with the body, and its superiority to it.

2. Of the mind being tuned either to good or bad things ; and some more of the misdoings of priests and knights, and also of greedy judges. Of the four powers : Imagination, Memory, Reasoning power, and Intellect.

3. Of the Arts. None is so little that one could know it wholly. Of the seven arts, and who were the best masters in each.

4. Of Theology and Medicine.

5. Of the decrease of learning. Exhortation to parents.

6. Of the five doors of the soul. The five senses as the servants of the four powers (vid. above, 2).

7. The soul in the body, as a king in his land.

8. Resuming the remarks on the powers of the body and soul, and their application.

BOOK VIII.

1. Un-Steadiness has a sister : Inmoderation, who is also the mes-

senger of Foolishness, and playfellow of Drunkenness. Definition and illustrations.

2. By Immoderation Virtue becomes Un-virtue.¹

3. How by Moderation, Un-virtue may be changed into Virtue.

4. No good thing is immoderate. On Moderation in prayer, in church-going, and in fasting.

5. Moderation in speech, laughing, sleeping, waking, weapons, and dress. Examples of men who were wanting in moderation, and came to grief accordingly.

6. Further examples of contemporaries who have come to grief by arrogance and immoderation, King John of England among them, and of others that have risen through humility.

7. Continues examples, taking them from olden times.

8. Of the fall of arrogant people. Of Disobedience to rulers, and of bad government. Examples of unruliness. Of the authority of the Pope (whom we scold at all times, though he is given to us a master by God).² Exhortation to continue the Crusade, and censure of those poets who mislead people from this aim, by other songs; on the high mission of poets.³ On heretics.⁴

9. Appeal to the German Knighthood to enter on a new Crusade.

10. The same to the German princes and to King Frederic (Emperor Frederic II.); much of this a paraphrase of Innocent III.'s Bull on the subject.

11. Return from this digression. Some more on arrogance, and the various ways by which it brings men to fall. Against malice, envy, and perjury.

BOOK IX.

"Here I make a little preface, and say how my pen complains against writing too much, and what answer I make, and then I begin my book." This little preface or episode we shall presently quote in full. The rest of this book is devoted to the consideration of Justice and the duties of judges, and

¹ *On a les défauts-de ses qualités.*

² V. 11090-145.

³ V. 11201-25; vide above, page 89.

⁴ Vide p. 97-100.

BOOK X.

treats of Mildness, Liberality, and Kindness ; and winds up the subject, the author taking leave of his readers, and addressing his book as he sends it into the world.

Before we ourselves take leave of gentle and good Thomasin, we append a few further detached extracts from the last nine books, with which we did not wish to break the summary, and which we have thus reserved as a *bonne bouche* :

IS LEARNING CONDUCTIVE TO MORALITY ?

He who injures the mind of his child,	9291
By (false) economy and by (desire of) gain,	
In not sending him to school	
Nor to court, know ye that he turns	
His profit into a great loss.	9295
If one leaves to his child not sense,	
And leaves him riches, he knows not well	
What he is to do with them.	
Maybe that an unwise man	
Who knows nothing at all or but little,	9300
Nor, in consequence of his laziness, wishes to learn,	
Offers speech like the following :	
He answers me that	
The un-learned act better	
Than he who is a good scholar,	9305
And does not do as he ought.	
The priest who has got good learning	
Is hankering, just like unlearned people,	
After wicked things and sin,	
And making gains at all times.	9310
" Why then should we learn anything,	
Since we see that such things happen ? "	
I will give him an answer	
To his speech, with one word :	
Doest thou fancy, that he who can read decently	9315
Is therefore a learned man ?	
Truly there is a goodly number of priests,	
I really mean to assure you of that,	
Who read that they may see what is written,	
And yet may never succeed	9320
In understanding the writing.	
Thus it happens to a peasant	
Who goes to church	

And stands in front of the pictures :
 Although he sees the painting, 9325
 Yet what it means he knows not;
 He does not know what the picture signifies :
 Understanding is not such a common thing.
 How then wilt thou, that he
 Should know better than another 9330
 What he is to do, if he can understand
 Nothing at all of what is the meaning of the writing ? ¹
 Now let us assume that he is really learned,
 Cannot you take a like case
 In the well-instructed physician, 9335
 Who greatly craves after unwholesome food
 And yet knows that it will injure him,
 But follows his greediness :
 Thus perchance acts a man
 Who can well understand the writings, 9340
 And whom yet his lechery draws
 Into that whereby he gains trouble and sorrow.
 (Yet) the art is to be held dear by us :
 The physician can with his physic
 Restore his health 9345
 If at any hour he fall sick.
 If a man falls into a ditch, know ye
 That he comes out of it better
 If he has sight than if he has none.
 Just so it fares with him 9350
 Who is really learned : if he do sin,
 He thinks of it at another hour
 That he may again do good,
 And comes back again to the Commandments.
 9355
 Rarely an unlearned man doeth that.

PROPER MOURNING FOR A FRIEND.

Ich wil iu sagen daz ich wil	I will tell you that I wish
daz man sîn vriunt niht klage vil,	A man not to bewail much the loss of a friend ;
doch sol man niht ân klage lân	Yet one shall not let
sîne vriunt von hinne gân.	One's friend go hence without mourn- ing. ²
.	
Swie ich daz gesprochen hân,	As I have said
daz man schier lâz sîn vriunde gân,	That one is to leave one's friends to depart,
man solz alsô verstên niht,	You must not understand

¹ The question, thus put, is still practical. See the excellent pamphlet :
 'An exaggerated estimate of the value of reading and writing,' by Dr Hodgson.
 1868. ² V. 5579-82.

swelhem man liht dâz geschiht
 daz er sinn vriunt verlorn hât,
 daz er habe sô toerschen rât
 daz er zehant var unde spil :
 wan tât er daz, des wær ze vil.
 er mac die bluomen lâzen sin
 ein wile, deist der rât min :
 im stêt niht wol der bluomen kranz.

er sol ouch mîden gern den tanz,
 den buhurt und daz seitespil,
 daz ist daz ich râten wil.

That he to whom perchance it happens
 To lose his friend,
 Should be so foolishly advised
 As to go off straightways to sport :
 If he did so, it would be too much.
 He may leave flowers alone
 Awhile, that is my advice :
 The wreath of flowers sits not well
 upon him.

Let him also avoid dancing,
 Tournaments and music,
 That is what I wish to counsel.¹

MEDICAL PRACTICE.

Ein arzât der wol erzen kan,
 der erzent dicke einn siechen man
 mit durst, mit hunger und mit prant.

er bint in ûf zuo einer want,
 er snidet und stichet in vil hart.

eim andern rouft er sinen bart
 und sin bâr, wan er wil
 daz er niht enslâf ze vil.

A physician who can cure well,
 He cures vigorously a sick man
 With thirst, with hunger, and with
 burning.

He ties him up against a wall,
 He cuts and pricks him a very great
 deal.

He tears another's beard
 And hair when he desires
 Him not to sleep too much.²

SWEET SIN.

Ez ist ein krût des enkan ich niht
 genennen tiusche, swenn daz geschiht
 daz sîn ein schâf izzt, ez ist tût,
 und ist dem schâf doch harte nôt
 nâch dem selben krût : sîn suoz
 machet daz ez sterben muoz.
 al daz selbe uns geschiht :

There is a shrub that I cannot
 Name in German, if it happen
 That a sheep eat of it, she dies.
 And yet that sheep has a great longing
 After that same shrub : its sweetness
 Is the cause of her death.
 Just so it happens to us.³

ON MODERATION IN BLAZONRY.

If one, having in his shield 10425

Roses, would also

Take the very flowers from the fields

Into his shield,⁴

That would seem to me extravagant.

The same I will tell you 10430

Of one, who having in his shield the sun,

Should bethink himself of having also

The stars, and moreover the moon

And the sky, it would be strange :

It would, whatever he might urge, be quite over-much.⁵ 10435

¹ V. 5591-605.

² V. 5089-96.

³ V. 14087-93.

⁴ N.B. *Crest* is not the word. It really refers to the ornament on the helmet. What is meant here, is the ornament in the *shield* itself, not in the imitation of it with which heraldry deals.

⁵ Those who are familiar with modern Austrian dialects, may be amused

Truly I will tell you What one sees in a man's exterior Is not without significance, Since it points at all times To that which is within.	10440
By one's weapons and by one's dress One's heart is greatly known. I will tell you, if a man Can with uprightness and gentleness bring it about That one cares more for him	10445
Than for his weapons and arms, that is good. As to what he has in his shield, If he is upright in the field, I care for it the more, You may believe me in that.	10450
Yet shall one have measure in these things : It would seem to me not well done, If a man were to have the sea-dogs (?) ¹ And would therefore paint On his weapons the monsters of the sea,	10455
And the fishes below. If one bears a boar On his shield, let him guard Against having a swine-herd, For that would look ill, that is true	10460
He who wants to bear a dog, Let him not embellish the matter So as to bring in the very hunt : Let not his work be such. If one were to bear a wolf,	10465
How would it look if he wished To have in his field The she-wolf and the whelps ? One cannot praise it In him to whom such a thing happens.	10470

OF A JUDGE WHO DOES NOT ENJOY SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY.

Should there be a lord who has not That power in his judgment seat Which he justly ought to have If people were (properly) submissive to him,	12870
--	-------

in finding here a very characteristic expletive, difficult of translation in all cases, and which we hardly would have expected to meet with in grave Thomasin :

sîn waere *halt* gar ze vil.

¹ The passage is doubtful : the MSS. vary. The word may refer to something like those waving lines which, on Sicilian coins, indicate the sea.

Let him do like the eagle,
 That ye may truly believe.
 When the eagle has come to be aged
 He flies then so high ,
 That the sun sets on fire 12875
 His wings, that is true ;
 Then he leaves the sun,
 And lets himself fall down into a well,
 And thus renews himself,
 That he becomes new, whole and gladsome. 12880
 Thus a lord ought to act :
 If he cannot well control
 His people and lands,
 Let him raise himself at once
 Towards God with humility, 12885
 With prayer, and with kindness,
 That He may help him to judge well,
 And so do that which he is to do.
 When he has done so,
 Then he is to let himself down 12890
 To his work, and at once
 Justly judge his land.
 Let him not be out of spirits
 For what people may say or do to him,
 For all that will be well disposed of, 12895
 If he has that piety and gentleness
 That he desires
 To accomplish his duty.

If this extract gives a curious instance of free handling of the ancient mythological tradition of the phoenix, the following may show in what manner our author treats a bit of the historical legends of antiquity :

OMNIA MEA MECUM PORTO.

Ein stat gevangen wart
 von ir vinden, dô vluchen hart
 die man in der stat vant :
 si truogen phenninge unde gewant.
 dô was ein man under in,
 der het den wistuom unde den sin
 daz er niht wolde tragen :
 die andern vuoren gar geladen.
 einer vreite in zwiu er tæte daz.
 dô antwurte er im baz
 danner vrægte : er sprach 'mîn muot
 treit mîn phenninge und mîn guot.'
 er meinte sîne tugent dermite,

A town was captured
 By her enemies, then fled hastily
 Those that were found in the town :
 They bore money and dresses.
 There was a man among them
 Who had the wisdom and the sense
 Not to wish to bear (away) anything :
 The others were heavily laden.
 Some one asked him why he did so.
 Then he answered him well
 His question : he said, ' My spirit
 Is my money and my goods.'
 He meant thereby his virtue,

sinen wistuom und sîn schœne site :
daz was doch ir aller spot.

dô reit nâch des herren bot

der die stat hete behert
und viengens alle an der vert,
wan si wârî geladen hart.
der ein der niht truoc an der vart,
der was ringe und kom wol hin,
wan wistuom, tugende unde sîn
mûezen ze jungest brechen vûr,
swie lange si sîn vor der tûr.

His wisdom, and his fair manners.
Yet that was (an object of) mockery to
all of them.

Then rode after them men sent by the
lord

Who had besieged the town,
And they caught them all on their way,
Since they were heavily laden.

The one who bore nothing on his road
He was light of foot, and got well off.
Thus wisdom, virtue, and sense
Must at the end break forth
However long they be before the door.¹

We must forbear the temptation to quote a fable of the Ass and the Wolf, very prettily told at some length and with great amplitude of moralities annexed: our readers will perhaps, by this time, care sufficiently for their Thomasin, to look it out in Max Müller's ‘German Classics,’ page 207-11, where a translation into modern German is given. And we conclude with this characteristic Dialogue, mentioned above, between the Author and his Pen.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND HIS PEN.

“ Let me rest, since it is time,”	12223
Speaks my pen ; “ he who never gives	
To his own servant	12225
Rest, he greatly wrongs him.	
So have I—this is true—	
Served you this whole winter,	
That you never allowed me to remain (still) :	
I had to write day and night.	12230
You have quite slit my mouth,	
Since for more than ten hours	
A day you used to mend ² and cut me.	
How could I suffer that so long ?	
You cut me now large now small,	12235
And have made me common	
By writing about masters and servants.	
You do me great wrong.	
When you used to keep up good manners	

¹ V. 6817-40.

² *Tempern. Il temperino* = the penknife.—Müller and Zarncke, T. iii. p. 29, certainly give the word in several other passages from other writers, and other words derived from the same root, but in all of them it has the meaning of *properly mixing*, and the like; none remind us, as our passage does, of the tempering of steel. Here we have one of the few instances in which the expression betrays our author's Italian origin.

- I very much liked to be with you. 12240
 When you with knights and ladies
 Used to attend tournaments and dances,
 Then I liked exceedingly to be near you :
 When you—believe me that ¹—
 Would be at court 12245
 Amongst the people, then was my
 Belief that I was better
 By you than elsewhere ; but you know
 Now you have discontinued (all) that,
 And have given up that (sort of) thing, 12250
 And thrown yourself quite backwards.
 I have gained nothing by that,
 Since I must write all day long :
 Know that I won't stand it.
 You have become a hermit. 12255
 Whilst you were at College,
 You did not give me so much trouble.
 Your door is (now) barred all day :
 Say on, what has happened to you ?
 You have no wish to see ladies or knights. 12260
 I am troubled beyond measure by your light,
 Which you burn all night long.
 If you mean in one year
 To write and eke put into verse
 What you have in you to write, 12265
 I have no wish to remain with you.
 He who gives himself up to poetry
 Must become quite undone,
 Seeing he altogether loses himself
 With thoughts, that is true." 12270
- To which remonstrance the Pen receives this answer :
- " Leave your complaint, complain not so much,
 And hear what I will tell you.
 If I had taken to poetry
 From a desire to kill time, I should not have got
 In four years to where I am, 12275
 Unless I am much mistaken
 You know well that I speak truth.
 In eight months have I quite
 Finished the eight parts
 (Not without much night-watching on your side also), 12280
 And I am to make two more of them :
 So you must do still two months' watching.
 With that, observe that my poetizing

¹ This line is obscure in the original.

Is no amusement to me at all.	
I might get out of it something like five years	12285
Of amusement, that is true,	
If I had taken to it for amusement.	
As it is, I have taken it up	
From necessity, as I see well	
That people never do as they ought.	12290
Therefore have I put aside	
What I otherwise should have done,	
As I must absolutely speak out	
What to be silent about troubled me much,	
You say that he becomes undone	12295
Who gives himself to poetry ;	
If people had not in olden times	
Been thus undone, there	
Would not have been so many good men	
As we read of in books.	12300
And we should now be quite undone	
If we did not find written that	
Wherein a man may take a model and meaning.	
I have become aware of one thing,	
That one gets quite lost in thought	12305
Whilst one poetizes, that is true,	
So that one can hardly bear oneself properly	
Whilst one is thinking much of it.	
But when it has all come out	
And one has in good time returned to oneself,	12310
One may yet bear oneself better	
Than one did before, know you that.	
If my door is barred for a while,	
That must not disturb (you) too much,	
Since in a (secluded) corner one must	12315
Make a foot for a poem,	
That in aftertimes it may run	
In the wide, wide world.	
I am exceedingly desirous of seeing	
Both knights and ladies,	12320
Yet methinks it is well done	
That I should miss their company for a while,	
In the words that I speak	
(And) that are to be for the good of both.	
He has not good counsel	12325
Who, having served much and well,	
Would for the sake of one small service,	
Lose what he has served for well.	
Thus I speak for your sake :	
You have with your service gained me ;	12330

But if now you will leave me,
 Then what you have done is lost.
 I have of Unsteadiness,
 With your help, said much,
 (Also) of Steadiness and Measure; 12335
 Wild-conduct (lit. Unmeasure) I do not overlook,
 Since of it I have also said
 That she is the sister of Unsteadiness.
 Steadiness and Measure are sisters,
 They are children of one virtue. 12340
 Right is the brother of the twain,
 And of him I am now
 To say willingly and to write well
 What I have to say of him.—
 And thou Right, write in my heart about right, 12345
 That in my utterance of it it become not wrong.
 Thou indeed writest not with ink:
 But everything will be worthless
 That I may write with ink,
 Unless it be that Thou seest to it all the day long." 12350

In looking out for other books of about the same period, and treating of kindred subjects, we find the *Advice of a Father to his Son by* (the knight of) *Winsbeke*, to which is added the answer of the son. The date is not ascertainable, further than that the language assigns it to the 13th century, and that an allusion to Wolfram's *Percival*, which was written between 1205 and 1215, shows it to be later than this poem, and consequently later than our *Thomasin*. Like that greater author, *Winsbeke* deals little in the externals of ceremony, much less than the writers of similar English performances in this volume and in the *Babees Book*. Another hand has added *Advice of the Lady of Winsbeke* (die *Winsbekin*) *to her Daughter*.

Both books, of much smaller extent than *Thomasin*, were edited by Haupt, in 1845.¹ They are divided into stanzas, and the metre is rather more lively than *Thomasin's*.

We quote a few passages from the

ADVICE OF THE FATHER.

Sun, swer bi dir ein mære sage, mit worten imz niht widersprich :	Son, if any one in your house tell a tale, Do not contradict him in terms :
--	--

¹ Moritz Haupt. Der *Winsbeke* and die *Winsbekin*. Mit Anmerkungen, Leipzig. Weidmann, 1845 (Br. Mus.).

und swer dir sînen kumber klage

in schame, des erbarme dich :

der milte got erbarmet sich
über alle die erbärmic sint.

den wîben allen schöne sprich :

ist undr in einiu sælden vrî,
dâ wider sint tûsent oder mê

den tugent und ère wonet bî.¹

Sun, du solt kiuscher worte sên

und stætes muotes : tuost du daz
sô habe ez ûf die triuwe mîn,
du lebst in èren desten baz,
trac niemen nît nach langen haz,

wes gên den vînden wol gemuot,
den friunden niht mit dienste laz,
dâ bî in zûhten wol gezogen,

und grûeze den du grûezen solt,

sô has dich sælde niht betrogen.

And if some one makes plaint to you
of his grief

With a feeling of shame, have pity on
him.

Gentle God has pity

On all those who are pitying.

To all the ladies speak courteously
(beautifully):

If there is among them one too free,
There are, as a set off, a thousand and
more

In whom dwell virtue and honour.

Son, thou shalt use choice (chaste)
words

And be of steady spirit : if thou dost so
Thou may'st believe on my faith

Thou shalt live in honour all the more.
Do not long bear hatred against any-
one,

Be of good spirit towards thy enemies,
Do not grow tired of serving thy friends,
Be at the same time like one well
brought up in Good-Breeding,

And salute him whom it is right for
thee to salute,

Then thou wilt be rarely disappointed.²

That late Latin author who justly, or by a mistake, has been called Dionysius Cato, and who, according to one who has specially inquired into the matter, may have lived in the fourth century after Christ, left to our ancestors a favourite reading book, in his *Sententia*, or collection of maxims on life. A very early prose translation was made of them by Notker in the 10th century (d. 1022). Many translations, extensions, adaptations followed, each writer altering or adding to the ground-work as, in his desire for the moralization of the world, appeared fit to him. Of such a "German Cato," which seems not to be later than the middle of the 13th century, we throw together a few extracts, bearing, to some extent, on the subject of courtesy.³

121 Wis ob dînem tische vrô :
an vrômden stat tuo niht alsô.

121 Be joyful at your own table :
At that of a stranger it is not
equally fitting.⁴

¹ Stanza 10.

² Stanza 39.

³ Fr. Zarneke, *Der deutsche Cato. Geschichte der deutschen Uebersetzungen der im Mittelalter unter dem Namen Cato bekannten Distichen bis zur Verdrängung derselben durch die Uebersetzung Seb. Brant's am Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts.*—Leipzig, G. Wigand, 1852. (In the Brit. Mus.)

⁴ Compare the injunction in the *Babees Book*, II. 26/29, 'to talk morosely'

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| | bî vrömdes wirtes brote
hüet dîner rede genôte ; | | When taking the bread of a
stranger host,
Guard your speech. |
| 125 | merke waz der wirt tuo
ant swîc du alle zît dar zuo. | 125 | Mark what the host does,
And be you silent about it at all
times. |
| | sô der wirt iht vrâge dich,
sô antwurt im unde sprich.
Swigen ist in grôziu tugent
beide an alter und an jugent. | | If the host ask you anything,
Answer him and speak.
To be silent is a great virtue,
Both in old age and in youth. |
| 130 | Vliuch niumære,
wis niht im sagære :
swîgen schadet keinen tac,
klaffen wol geschaden mac. | 130 | Flee from slander,
Be no tale-bearer :
To be silent, harms not any day,
Yelping may indeed do harm. |
| 140 | Enruoche waz dîn wîp sage,
sô si von den knechten klage : | 140 | Inquire what thy wife says,
If she complains about the
servants : |
| | wîp hazzent dicke einen Man
dem der wirt wol gustes gan. | | Wives greatly hate a man
To whom the master of the house
is favourable. |
| 145 | Manestu dînen vriunt ze vil
des er dir niht volgen wil,

ist er dir liep, swier denne tuot,

sô mane in doch, ob ez sî guot. | 145 | If you exhort your friend too much
So that he is not inclined to
follow you,
(Yet) if he is dear to you, what-
ever he do,
Still exhort him, it may be good. |
| 213 | mit dienste manicvalden
sol man den vriunt behalden. | 213 | By services of all kind
You shall retain your friend. |
| 265 | Gedenke niht deheine vrist
des zornes des vergezzen ist. | 265 | Never think at any time
Of the anger which has been for-
gotten. |
| 515 | Du solt der knechte schônen
die dir dienen durch lônem ;
gedenke daz ir einer ist
ein mensche als du selbe bist. | 515 | You shall spare the servants
Who serve you for wages ;
Think that each of them is
A human being, as you are your-
self. |

These editions and amplifications of Dionysius Cato, into which later authors freely introduced passages from Thomasin and from the Fridanc,¹ lead us to a metrical performance by a writer calling himself the Tannhäuser,² and whom Gervinus considers the originator of such rules of table-discipline as have been inserted into the Cato. This opinion loses somewhat of its probability if we compare the Tannhäuser's work with the similar ones in English, French, and especially in Latin, with which the *Babees Book* has made us ac-

always, except at table when you are told to be jocose ; here then doctors of courtesy differ.

¹ Gervinus, vol. ii. p. 423.

² Or Tanhauser, Tanhäuser, Tannawser, Tanhûsaere, Tannhuser.

quainted, and with Mr Rossetti's Italian text in the present volume. The text of Tannhäuser was published by Haupt from a MS. preserved at Vienna,¹ of the year 1395. It does not seem possible to assign an exact date to the poem; the language is, however, slightly more modern than that of Thomasin,² and the passage v. 217-20—see it below, with the original in the note—offers so striking a coincidence with one occurring in a poem by Trimberg (1260-1309), that we may fairly consider it to be written in reference to it, and to place our Tannhäuser at about the end of the 13th century.³

We are here in contact with a man of much slighter calibre than Thomasin, and are rather surprised on finding the line (257),

‘Who never suffered, never did enjoy.’

On the whole, beyond the usual pious exordium and peroration, and some care for one's health, we find the author entirely concerned with externals, in which a touch, here and there, differs from the parallel productions just mentioned. We let our author speak :

COURTLY BREEDING BY TANNHAEUSER.

He appears to me to be a well-bred man, Who can appreciate all courtliness, Who never fell into habits of ill-breeding	And he who gives Good Breeding its due
And whose manners never departed from him. 4	Has preserved himself from acting badly; 15
There are many rules of Good Breeding, And they are useful for many things; Know ye now that he who will follow them,	Him God makes right high-minded. Therefore I advise my friends that They hate the essence of Ill Breeding. He who never forgot his rules of courtesy,
He will very rarely do amiss. 8	How rarely had he ever to blush! 20
These are maxims of great courtesy Which a noble man shall keep, And they treat of many a bad habit Which may be known thereby. 12	At meals you shall speak as soon As ye have sat down : ⁴ ‘May Jesus Christ bless us,’ Think ye of God at all times. 24
Courtesy surely is good for people,	When you eat, be exhorted Not to forget the poor, ⁵ So shall you be well known by God,

¹ Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, herausgegeben von Moriz Haupt. Bd. VI. p. 488-96.

² This, after all, proves little, seeing how readily, in the middle ages, the copyists adapted the words of an original to the dialectic forms to which they were accustomed.

³ About the middle of the 13th century there lived a poet, of the name of Tanhaeuser, who appears as a contemporary of Pope Urban IV. (1264-68). He may be identical with our author.

⁴ Mark, not standing, as we moderns should think it more right.

⁵ See above, in Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 15.

If good is done by you.	28	And smacks like a Bavarian,
Be mindful of the great need		How much does he renounce Good
Of orphans, wherein they are :		Breeding. 64
Give them, ¹ through God, your bread,		He who wishes both to speak and
So you shall free yourself from hell.		eat,
No two noble men shall	33	To do the two kinds of work at the
Use the same spoon in eating their		same time,
broth : ²		And to speak in his sleep,
That is well befitting for courteous		He can but very rarely rest well. 68
people,		During meal, leave disputing alone
For very unknightly things happen.		Whilst you eat, as some do :
To drink out of the dish befits no one,		Think on that, oh my friends,
Though many a one praise such bad		That never were there such ill-befitting
manners,	38	manners. 72
Who takes it very wrongfully,		The man who puts the loaf against his
And pours down (the broth) like an		body,
enraged man ;	
And him who leans over the dish		And cuts as a sick woman may do 75
Whilst he eats, like a pig,	42
And, in a very uncleanly manner,		And if a little dish is brought in
snorts		With sauce when you go to dine,
And smacks with his mouth.		You must not put into it
Some people bite off pieces of bread		Your bare hand, that befits ill. 80
And thrust it (the remainder) back		It appears to me a very bad action,
into the dish,	46	In whomsoever I see this piece of ill-
According to boorish manners :		breeding,
Such Ill Breeding courteous people		If a man has got in his mouth some-
give up.		thing to eat,
Some people are inclined,		And the while drinks like a beast. 84
When they have gnawed a bone,	50	Some people blow into their drink ;
To put it back again into the dish :		Many a one likes to do so as a regular
That you have to consider as acting		thing :
greatly amiss.		It is very uncertain whether you will
Those who like to eat mustard and		be thanked for doing so ;
sauces,		Such ill-breeding one ought to be
Let them be very careful	54	without. ⁵ 88
To forbear being dirty,		Some people look over their beakers
And not to push their fingers into		Whilst they drink ; that does not be-
them.		fit well :
He who belches when he is to eat		Have not such people as cavaliers
And blows his nose into the table-cloth,		Where you are to have the best. 92
Both these things are not befitting, ³		Before you drink, wipe your mouth,
As far as I can understand.	60	Lest you dirty the drink with fatty
He who grunts (snouts), like a		matter :
waterbadger, ⁴		Courtly manner befits well at all mo-
Whilst he eats, as some are accusom-		ments,
ed to do,		And is a courtly of thinking. 96

¹ An additional touch, not contained in the Italian parallel poem.

² Same remark.

³ Vide Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 23, and note.

⁴ The compound word not to be found : about the parts there is no doubt, but I know not what animal is meant. An otter ? or beaver ?

⁵ In potum tuum sufflare nolito. *Babes Book*, II. 28/29.

Between the courses a man may Well drink, if need impels him, (And) if he can have the drink ; Not all people like it. 100	He is an odd fish, and not sound to the back-bone. ²
He who puts his finger on the knife Whilst he cuts, as a skinner ¹ does, How rarely does such a man stir When one conquers over heathens ! And those who loll on the table Whilst they eat,—which does not befit well— How rarely they shake their helmets When one is called upon to serve the Ladies ! 108	He who blows his nose at table And rubs it with his hand, 130 He is a disgraceful fellow, if I under- stand it well ; He is not aware of better breeding. If it happen that one must Place some little dish between (several guests), Ye would be wanting in all good breeding If ye were to put your hands in all at the same time. 136
Again, you must not scratch your throat, Whilst you eat, with the bare hand : But if it happen (that you cannot help scratching) Then courteously take a portion of your dress, 112 And scratch with that : that is more befitting. Than that your skin should become dirtied, The lookers-on observe it (In him) who does not refrain from such ill manners. 116	He who means to eat with bread (steeping it into the broth) Whilst another eats with him, Let him well guard against that, If he has got the least virtue, ³ 140 I hear it said of some (If it is true, it is ill-befitting) That they eat without having washed themselves : May their joints grow lame ! 144 Some are so over-joyous, They eat, as it appears to me, Without being aware of the where- abouts of their mouths And bite their own fingers, 148 And their tongue, so I hear it said. ⁴
You are not to clean your teeth With knives, as some do, And as still happens here and there : He who does so, it is not good. 120 He who likes to eat with spoons, And cannot manage to lift the food with them, Let him forbear from the dirty way Of shoving it on them with his fingers. He who whilst at table, takes it into his head 125 To let out his girdle, He may for a long while wait for me,	To whom will he complain of the damage. 152 Now take good care of your manners : If your companion at table wishes to drink, You must not be eating the while : That is courteous and well-befitting. He who takes matter from his nose And from his eyes, as some do,

¹ The 'skinner' makes his appearance here somewhat unexpectedly; but very likely he may be thought of as connected with the knacker, and the latter's business was ordinarily combined with the functions of the executioner, --of whom courtesy and fighting the heathen could certainly not be expected.

² *er ist niht visch unz an den grät,—bis auf die Gräten, nicht ganz was er sein soll*—not a fish to the backbone.

³ Perhaps this translation is rather forced. The original is obscure, and some line or lines may be lost.

⁴ *hoere ich*, which is repeated below, is, at present, a frequent expletive among the Germans of Bohemia: this observation, were it strengthened by others, might allow a guess at the home of the author.

To clean one's ears is not seemly
 Whilst he eats, these three things are
 not good. 160
 It is rarely, (nay) never good,
 If one means to eat in company,
 To wrong Moderation
 With overeating; it is not befitting.
 Towards night no one ought to eat
 much 165
 Who has eaten well in the morning;
 He who will greatly over-feed himself,
 His boiled meat will rarely do him
 good. 168
 Of overeating comes gout
 And other disease, I hear it affirmed:
 By gluttony many sins are done,
 By drinking much wickedness has
 been done. 172
 Hunger is truly better
 Than to eat too much meat:
 It is preferable that a man should
 hunger
 Unless he wants to become an invalid.
 Of overeating comes much trouble
 For Carnival-time and at Easter-
 tide: 178
 Many thousands have died of eating
 Which has ruined their stomachs.
 He therefore who spoils his bread
 with sauces,¹
 That he may change his dress into
 drink,
 And consequently gets into great
 trouble,

He must be called a fool. 184
 He who, without being thirsty, will
 drink a great deal,
 He draws near to death;
 And (he who), without being hungry,
 will eat a great deal,
 He won't live long, methinks. 188
 On the other hand, if one shoves
 little into his mouth,
 When great hunger oppresses him,
 He becomes very rarely quite well;
 In the long run he fares like the other.
 Many people have died of hunger,
 And such things still happen. 194
 Of thirst many suffer,
 Who yet do not die of thirst.
 God bless our drink;
 He who never had beginning 198
 And never can come to an end,
 May cause the drink to be salutary
 to us.
 Hereof spake Sir Frîdanc,
 (Saying) good wine is the best drink:
 His view follows Tannhæuser:
 Yet a good many heathens won't
 believe it. 204
 Hot dishes
 You ought to avoid, if ye be wise,
 However great hunger you may have:
 Such food injures many a one.
 The household is quite desecrated
 Where food is not properly attended to;
 It cannot be called a household.
 If there is neither bread nor drink.²

¹ Persicos, odi, puer apparatus.—*Hor.*

² I give the original of a few lines here, as a specimen of Tannhæuser's language:

swer machet eine hôchzît,
 swie manige traht man gît,
 dâ mac kein wirtschaft sîn,
 da ensî guot brôt unde wîn.
 swâ man des schâchzabels gert
 und swa manz von hunger mert,*
 dâ mac kurzwîle gevalen niht
 und ist diu wirtschaft gar enwiht. 220
 diu lazheit reizet manegen man
 daz er guotes niht enkan:
 daz wirt ein ewiger tût
 und bringet manege sêle in nôt.
 nu lât iu die zuht behagen 225

ê daz si komen zuo ir tagen
 den kinden sol manz niht versagen.
 swer alle zuht behalten kan
 und lât die unzuht under wegen, 230
 der wirt vor gote ein lieber man,
 mac ers an sînen tût gepflegen.
 swer alle zuht kan bewarn
 und volget nâch der zûhte wol,
 des sêle mac vil wol gevarn, 235
 sô der lîp sterben sol.
 vlorn wirt kein wol gezogen man,
 kein ungezogen man der kan
 ze himelriche nimmer komen,
 alsô hân ich vernomen. 240

* Obscure line of which we attempt no translation. Even the learned German editor gives it up, declaring: 'diese Zeile ist mir nicht deutlich.'

No gross feeder ever becomes quite
wise; 213

That you may see by many a glutton.

No good sense has the wine-bibber
Who pays heed to nothing but his
belly.

Overmuch food and drunkenness.

He regrets it in his old age

And it makes many people stupid.

If one in his youth becomes a wine-
bibber, 221

And amidst gluttony comes to his old
age,

He gets by it a big belly,

But how little that does good to the
soul!

A man ought to bear good and evil,

And amidst it all live courteously,

And ought not to lose heart

If things do not at every moment do
according to his wish.

Who never suffered, never did
enjoy; ¹ 229

A pious man ought to bear everything,

Whatever fortune befall him,

Both the sweet and the bitter.

If a man gives a feast,

However many courses be given,
There can be no household 235

If there be no good bread and wine.

Where one plays with scanty bits
of bread, like chessmen ²

There can take place no enjoyment

And the household is quite desecrated.

Laziness attracts many a man

That he may not do good : 242

That becomes an everlasting death

And gets many a soul into trouble.

Now let Good-breeding please you.

Before they come to years

One shall not refuse it to the children.

He who can keep all Good-breeding

And leaves alone Ill-breeding, 250

He becomes dear in the eyes of God,

If he practises it (Good-breeding) to
his death.

He who can guard all Good-breeding

And well follows the rules of Courtesy,

His soul may fare exceedingly well.

Though the body is to die. 256

No well-educated man is lost.

No badly-brought-up man can

Ever come to Heaven,

So have I understood.

Tannhäuser has made

This discourse with some trouble. 262

It warns well against evil actions

Him who is not (*yet*) thoroughly as
he ought to be.

Here this good teaching cometh to an
end;

God from Ill-Breeding us fend.

Amen. ³

¹ Wer nie sein Brod mit Thraenen ass,

Wer nie die kummervollen Naechte,

Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,

Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Maechte, &c.—*Goethe*.

² This passage is explained by one in the *Renner* of Hugo of Trimberg :

God, let me never sit there

Where they play chess with little bits of bread on the table.

If I should chance to get a King

Or a Castle, I might do well :

With pawns I could hardly satisfy my hunger.

Wackernagel refers this to the over careful arrangement of pieces of bread on the table of a miser. Wackernagel über d. Schachspiel in Mittelalter in Krug und Weissenbach Beitr. zur Gesch. und Lit. Is. 28 fig. Aarau, 1846.

³ der Tanhüsaere gemachet hât
die rede mit sümlîcher rât,
ez lêret wol für missetât

der niht ist vizch biz an den grât.
Dise gut ler hat ain ende
Got an vns alle vnzucht wend. Amen.

NOTE ON

Le Ménagier de Paris,

1393-4 A.D.

BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

THE French *Contenances de la Table*, &c., printed in Part II of the *Babees Book*, are, perhaps, enough of an Early English Text to have devoted to early French Manners and Cookery; but the importance of the *Ménagier*, which I had seen, but not worked at all, when I edited the *Babees Book*, may excuse a page or two being given to it, after the elaborate treatment of Thomasin von Zirclaria which we have made room for. The following paragraph by me on the work was inserted in *The Athenæum* of July 24th, 1859, p. 118, col. 1, 2.

‘*Le Ménagier de Paris*’ [is] a treatise on morals and domestic economy, composed about the year 1393, by a wealthy Parisian, for the instruction of his young wife, and edited in 1847 by M. Pichon, for the Société des Bibliophiles Français. The book, though scarce, is still procurable, and is certainly no less valuable in its way, while it is even more curious, than its better-known fellow, ‘*The Book of the Knight of the Tour-Landry*,’ wherein he wrote, in 1372, ‘the Good Manners of Good Dames, and their Good Deeds,’ to the end that his daughters might take example thereby. The ‘*Ménagier*’ begins with the love of God and the salvation of the young wife’s soul,—she is only fifteen,—ends with recipes for cooking sardines and young herrings, and embraces between these extremes the Whole Duty of Woman, as well the propriety of keeping her eyes on the ground as she walks about the town, as of ordering her servants to put their bed-candles out with their fingers or their mouths, and not with their shirts¹. Part of the wife’s personal duty to the husband in winter, and in summer too, we must quote in the original²: —“Gardez en yver qu’il ait bon feu sans fumée; et entre vos mamelles [soit] bien couchié, bien couvert; et illec l’ensorcellez³ Et en

¹ ii. 71.² i. 171.³ Charme, inchaunt, bewitch, eye-bite. *Cotgrave*.

esté, gardez que en vostre chambre, ne en vostre lit, n'ait nulles puces ; ce que vous pouvez faire en six manières, si comme j'ay oy dire." And then follow the six methods for getting rid of these pestilent parasites. The book, to our surprise, notices the custom of servants using the word "sanglant" in their oaths: "de males *sanglantes* fièvres... de male *sanglante* journée."¹ We know no such early use of "bloody" in English, but may notice that some costermongers have lately substituted the participle "bleeding" for the adjective. "My bleeding barrow" is the latest phrase in vogue. The '*Ménagier*' contains a treatise on Hawking, a great many bills-of-fare for dinners, weddings, &c., and numerous recipes for dishes,—among which may be noticed one for Chaucer's blanchmanger (our 'Forme of Cury' has two); another for an English dish, "soubtil brouet d'Angleterre"²—chestnuts, eggs, pig's liver, and spices, boiled and strained; and another containing four ways of making the *gaufres*, since popular at penny-ice shops. The ginger "columbine," that puzzled Mr Furnivall in his 'Russell's Book of Nurture,' is explained to be an inferior kind of ginger, cheaper and worse than the darker-skinned whiter-insided "*gingembre mesche*," worth 20 sols a pound, while columbine costs only 11³.

But this sketch is a very incomplete one, as the reader will see from the title of the book, which is as follows :

"*Le Ménagier de Paris*, Traité de Morale et d'Économie Domestique, composé vers 1393 (A.D.) par un Bourgeois Parisien ; contenant *des préceptes moraux*, quelques fait historiques, des instructions sur *l'art de diriger une maison*, des renseignements sur *la consommation du Roi, des Princes, et de la ville de Paris*, à la fin du quatorzième siècle, des conseils sur *le jardinage* et sur *le choix des chevaux* ; un *traité de cuisine* fort étendu, et un autre non moins complet sur *la chasse à l'épervier* : ensemble, *L'histoire de Grisélidis, Mellibée et Prudence* par Albertan de Brescia (1246), traduit par frère Renault de Louens ; et *le chemin de Povreté et de Richesse*, poëme composé, en 1342, par Jean Bruyant, notaire au Châtelet de Paris ; publié pour la première fois par *la Société des Bibliophiles Français*." Paris, 1846 (2 vols. 8vo., edited by M. Jérôme Pichon, President of the Society.)

The book well deserves translation into English, the moral parts being written in a loving, tender spirit, which speak well for the character of the old husband of near sixty, though he had married a

¹ ii. 59.² ii. 166.³ ii. 230.

young orphan-girl of 15 ; “seldom will you see ever so old a man who will not willingly marry a young woman” (i. 158). And though, as the reader will have seen, the old man has some regard for his creature and sexual comforts, yet he looks even more to his young wife’s second husband than himself, and more to her being as thoroughly mistress of her household for her own sake than for his. A sweet and loving wife, a sensible religious woman, and a finished housewife, would the good old bourgeois husband—a gentleman in spirit and station too—make of the young untrained girl whose life he had linked to his own.

The work is divided into three *Distinctions* or Parts, each with its *articles* or sections.

I. How to gain the love of God and the salvation of your soul.

1. Pray to God and the Virgin when you wake in the morning. (p. 9-15)
2. On choosing good companions, going to church, confession, &c. 15-16
3. Always love God and the Virgin ; with an abstract of a treatise on Repentance, Confession, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Virtues. 16-62
4. Live chastely, like Susanna, Lucretia, &c. 62-76
5. Love your husband (whether me or another) like Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel. 76-96
6. Be humble and obedient to your husband, like Grisild, &c. In the illustrative story, p. 158-165, a cure for a saucy wife is given : bleed her till she faints. 96-168
7. Be ‘curieuse’ and careful of his person (From this is the extract above, p. 149, 150. An interesting chapter) 168-177
8. Keep your husband’s secrets, and conceal his faults ; don’t talk scandal, exaggerate, as other women do, &c. 177-185
9. If your husband’s going to make a fool of himself like Melibeus, quietly stop him, as Prudence did 185-240

Part II. begins the second volume, and is of Managing the Household, gaining Friends, guarding against Mishaps and Old Age.

- § 1. Take care of, and pleasure in, your house (including the Poem of '*The Way of Poverty and Riches*,' by Jean Bruyant, 1342 A.D., p. 4-42) 1-42
- § 2. Of the flower- and kitchen-garden, &c. 43-53
- § 3. How to choose men-servants, women-servants, &c., and tradesmen; to teach servants to clean dresses, &c., to look after sheep, horses, &c., and to take care of and cure wines. (A good chapter) 53-79
- § 4. Of the Butchers and the consumption of Paris; cartes of divers dinners and suppers, and one wedding-breakfast of *Maistre Jean de Haute-court* (p. 118-123) ¹ 80-124
- § 5. Recipes for all kinds of soups, sauces, joints, &c., for invalids as well as healthy people; with an Appendix of Recipes, by M. Pichon (p. 273-7) 125-277

Part III. Of this, unluckily, only the second section, the *Book of Hawking*, vol. ii, p. 279-326, exists in the MSS, says M. Pichon. The 1st section should have been on games of chance, dice, and (?) chess (*par rocs et par roys*). The 3rd section should have been of games by questions, which wanted reckoning and numbers to answer them, and were difficult to find out.

As a sample of the Recipes, Part II., § 5, here are two for cooking un-English French dishes, special to Johnny Crapaud:

FROGS.² To take them, have a line and a little fish-hook with a bait of flesh or of red cloth; and, having caught your frogs, cut them across through the body, near the thighs, and empty what you'll find in the arse³; and take the two thighs of the said frogs; cut off the feet; skin the said thighs all raw; then have cold water, and wash them; and if the thighs stop a night in cold water, they'll be so much the better and tenderer. And thus soaked, let them be washed in warm water, and then put in a towel, and wiped. The said thighs, thus washed and wiped, let them be besmeared with

¹ Compare 'A Feste for a Bryde,' *Babees Book*, p. 357. ² ii, 222-3.

³ *Col*: m. An arse, bumme, tayle, nockandroe, fundament. *Cotgrave*.

flour, that is, bemealed or floured¹ (*en farine touillées*, id est, *enfarinées*), and afterwards fried in oil, lard,² or other liquor, and be put in a dish, and powder [spice, &c.] on it.

SNAILS, which are called *escargols* (snails), should be caught in the morning. Take the young small snails, those that have black shells, from the vines or elder-trees; then wash them in so much water that they throw up no more scum; then wash them once in salt and vinegar, and set them to stew (*cuire*) in water. Then you must pick these snails out of the shell at the point of a pin or needle; and then you must take off their tail, which is black, for that is their turd; and then wash them, and put them to stew and boil in water; and then take them out, and put them in a plate or dish to be eaten with bread. And also some say that they are better fried in oil and onion, or other liquor, after they have been cooked as above said; and they are eaten with powder [spice, &c.] and are for rich people.

On this, M. Pichon comments: We find at the end of *The Shepherds' Calendar* (Paris, 1493, folio, fol. N vj), a very curious piece on the Snail, in which the writer says to it: 'Never does a Lombard eat thee in such sauce as we make for thee. We put thee in a big plate, with black pepper and onions.'³

Besides recipes for dishes, *Le Ménagier* contains others for making glue (ii. 250), marking-ink (ii. 263); for curing toothache (ii. 257), &c., &c., and one for curing the bite of a mad dog or other beast (ii. 259); an odd bit of gibberish:—"Take a crust of bread, and write what follows: † Bestera † bestie † nay † brigonay † dictera † sagragan † es † domina † fiat † fiat † fiat †."

This bare sketch does, of course, no kind of justice to the book, which is full of interest of all kinds to the Englishman as well as the Frenchman. Those members who can afford it, should buy it; and

¹ *Enfariné* . . Bemealed; whited or strewed ouer with meale. *Cotgrave*.

² *Sain*: m. Seame; the tallow, fat, or grease of a Hog, or of a rauinous wild beast. *ib*.

³ Oncques Lombard ne te mangeat,
A telle saulce que [nous] ferons;
Si te mettrons en vug grant plat,
Au poyvre noir et aux ognons.

any one who wishes to pursue the subject farther should read Le Grand d'Aussy's *Histoire de la Vie Privée des Français, depuis l'origine de la Nation jusqu'à nos jours*, 3 vols. Paris, 1782; *Le Livre fort excellente de Cuisine*, Lyons, 1542, or its reprint, the *Grand Cuisinier de toutes Cuisines* (Paris, between 1566 and 1574) —the new edition of it by M. de la Villegille, preparing in 1846, has not been published;—the *Fleur de toute Cuisine . . revue et corrigée par Pierre Pidoue*, Paris, 1543; and M. Pichon's article on 'Guillaume Tirel, dit Taillevent . . écuyer de cuisine de Charles VI en 1386 . . dans le *Bulletin* du bibliophile de Techener, no. de juin 1843.'¹ M. Bachelin-Deflorenne says that 'of the many books of *Cuisinières Bourgeoises*, there is only one to be recommended, that by M. Hanffe, *Le Livre de Cuisine*, with 25 plates in chromolithography, and 161 vignettes engraved on wood, 1847, large 8vo, price about 50 francs.'

¹ *Le Ménagier*, p. xxxv-vi.

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